CHAPTER I

1. Word

The word is a relevant level of structure within the grammatical hierarchy of Golin in that there is distinct contrast between the various word classes as to either their internal formal features, their function in relation to other word classes or their function in relation to other levels of the grammatical hierarchy. In relation to their internal formal features, words in Golin follow the seemingly universal pattern of being internally stable i.e. there is a fixed ordering of constituents within each of the various categories.[1] The word has only limited mobility when it functions as a constituent of the phrase level but it does become more mobile as a constituent of the clause level.

Words are analysed as comprising two major classes, verbs and non-verbs, for the following reasons: the verb has a much higher degree of complexity on this level than non-verbs, other levels confirm that the verb expounds the nucleus tagmeme of a clause and ought to be considered separately, and the verb exerts the most influence on relationships between the various levels.[2] A number of the sub-classes under the non-verbs have been included under the word level but this has been done more on the basis of tradition rather than on the basis of analytical fit. It will be seen that their function is more relevant to the higher levels.

1.1. Verbs

1.1.1. Stems

Verb stems fall into four classes according to:

(a) the effect that the person suffixes have on the final vowel of

the stem when that suffix immediately follows the stem and (b) the future suffix allomorph that occurs with the stem when the future suffix immediately follows the stem.[3]

The basic allomorph of a stem is the stem which occurs when the suffix -g 'restricted aspect' (1.1.2.5.) immediately follows the stem. This same form of the stem occurs as the non-affixed stem of a Multiple Stem Verb Phrase (2.1.1.3.). The effect on the final vowel of the stem when person suffixes immediately follow can be seen by the following chart.

Class	Basic form of stem - final vowel	1stp & dual	1stps	2ndp	3rdp '-n.w'	3rdp '-m'
1.	-e	e	e	i	u	e
2.	-e	o	e	e	o	o
3.	-o, -i, -u, -a.	no change	no change	no change	no change	no change
4.	-i	i	i	i	u	i

The following chart shows the future allomorphs that stem classes take when they immediately follow the stem.

Class	1stp, 1stps & dual	2ndp	3rdp
1.	-a	-a	-a
2. (a)	-ra	-na /-ra	-ra /-na
2. (b)	-na	-na	-na
3.	-ra	-na	-na
4.	-a /-ra	-a /-ra /-na	-a /-ra /-na

1.1.1.1. Class 1.

All stems in this class are polysyllabic and -e is the basic

form of the final vowel of the stem.

e.g. mile- 'to be' (animate)

kere- 'to count'

gale- 'to cook' (over flames)

kane- 'to see'

The following stem changes occur when the respective person suffixes immediately follow the stem.

(a) With 3rd person suffix '-n.w' the vowel changes to u.

e.g. Kanu-ø-ngw-é see-nf-3rdp.restr-ind - 'He is looking'

milu-ø-ngw-é be-nf-3rdp.restr-ind - 'He is'

(b) With the 2nd person suffix -n the vowel changes to i.

e.g. gali-ø-n-ó? cook-nf-2ndp-int - 'Is he cooking?'

kani-ø-n-g-é see-nf-2ndp-rst-ind - 'You looked'

When the future suffix immediately follows the stem, the final vowel of the stem is deleted and the stem takes -a future allomorph.

e.g. kan-a-ngw-é see-fut-3rdp.rst-ind - 'He will see'

mil-a-bin-g-é be-fut-1stp-rst-ind - 'I will be'

gal-a-n-g-é cook-fut-2ndp-rst-ind - 'You will cook'

1.1.1.2. Class 2.

All stems in this class are monosyllabic and -e is the basic form of the final vowel of the stem.

e.g. ne- 'to eat'

ye- 'to put'

te- 'to give'

e- 'to go'

If the 1st person suffix -bin and dual marker -bil, or the

3rd person suffixes -n.w and -m immediately follow the stem, the final vowel of the stem changes to o.

e.g.	no-Ø-ngw-é	eat-nf-3rdp.rst-ind	'He is eating'
	no-Ø-bin-g-é	eat-nf-1stp-rst-ind	'We are eating'
	yo-Ø-m-ú-e	put-nf-3rdp-unr-ind	'He put'
	no-Ø-bil-g-é	eat-nf-dual-rst-ind	'We, you or they two are eating'

When the future suffix immediately follows the stem, two sub-classes occur because of the different reaction of the stems.

Sub-class A All stems other then e- 'to go'

(a) With the suffixes 1st person -bin and dual marker -bil this sub-class takes -ra as its future suffix.

e.g.	ye-ra-bin-ó?	put-fut-1stp-int	'Will I put it?'
	ne-ra-bil-g-é	eat-fut-dual-rst-ind	'We/You/They two will eat'

(b) With the 2nd and 3rd person suffixes this sub-class takes either -ra or -na as its future suffix.

e.g.	te-ra-n-g-é / te-na-n-g-é	give-fut-2ndp-rst-ind	'You will give'
	ye-ra-m-ú-e / ye-na-m-ú-e	put-fut-3rdp-unr-ind	'They will put'

Sub-class B the stem e- 'to go'

With all person suffixes the future is marked by the allomorph -na. However, the stem is deleted when the future is added.

e.g.	Ø-na-bin-g-é	go-fut-1stp-rst-ind	'I will go'
	Ø-na-n-g-é	go-fut-2ndp-rst-ind	'You will go'

1.1.1.3. Class 3.

All stems ending in geminate vowel clusters, or a sequence of

two vowels belong to this class, along with the stem u- 'to come'.

e.g. kii- 'to cook' (steam, boil)

pai- 'to rest'

u- 'to come'

This class is distinct in that there are no changes in the final vowel of the stem when any of the person suffixes are added.

When the future suffix immediately follows the stem the following allomorphs occur:

(a) With the suffixes 1st person -bin and dual marker -bil this class takes -ra as its future suffix.

e.g. kii-ra-bin-g-é cook-fut-1stp-rst-ind 'We will cook'

(b) With the 2nd and 3rd person suffixes this class takes -na as its future suffix.

e.g. daa-na-n-g-é wind-fut-2ndp-rst-ind 'You will wind it up'

u-na-ngw-é come-fut-3rdp.rst-ind 'He will come'

1.1.1.4. Class 4.

In this class -i is the basic form of the final vowel of the stem, and only two stems have been noted to occur in this class. However, both these stems are very productive in the language. The verbs are:

di- 'to speak' or 'to be' (inanimate)

si- 'to strike'

The only stem change that occurs with person suffixes is that whenever the 3rd person suffix -n.w immediately follows the stem the final vowel changes to u.

e.g. du-Ø-ngw-é speak-nf-3rdp.rst-ind 'He is speaking'

In this class the future is marked by the final vowel of the stem being deleted and the stem taking -a as its future suffix allomorph. However, there are certain alternatives:

(a) With 1st person -bin and dual marker -bil the future suffix allomorph -ra may also be selected.

e.g. d-a-bin-g-é / di-ra-bin-g-é speak-fut-1stp-rst-ind
'We will speak'

(b) With the 2nd and 3rd persons the future suffix allomorphs -ra or -na may also be chosen.

e.g. d-a-n-g-é / di-na-n-g-é / di-ra-n-g-é speak-fut-2ndp-rst-ind
'You will speak'

d-a-m-ú-e / di-ra-m-ú-e / di-na-m-ú-e speak-fut-3rdp-unr-ind
'He will speak'

Thus class 4 verb stems take both the future suffix allomorphs appropriate to class 1 and those appropriate to class 2a.

1.1.1.5. Other Stem Changes.

1.1.1.5.1. Tone Changes

Stems further divide into two classes depending on whether they take basic high or low tone. The tone perturbation on verbs is such that the basic tone of the stem is evident in the following:

(a) when the negative suffix is added

(b) when the imperative is used

(c) when the stem is used in isolation in a verb phrase.

e.g. ye-kí-Ø-bín-g-é put-neg-nf-1stp-rst-ind 'We did not put'

ye-Ø-yó put-2ndp-imp 'Put it'

ye mile-Ø-bin-g-é put be-nf-1stp-rst-ind 'We are looking after'

té-e-bin-g-e	give-neg-1stp-rst-ind	'I did not give'
t-Ø-ó	give-2ndp-imp	'Give'
té pisere-m-ó?	give finished-3rdp-int	'Has he finished giving it?'

1.1.1.5.2. Irregular Changes.

Irregular stem changes occur on the verbs e- 'to go', u- 'to come' and ii- 'to get'.

(a) When the negative morpheme is added then the stems change to pe- / pi- 'to go', we- 'to come' and ye- 'to get'.

e.g.	pé-e-Ø-Ø-g-e	go-neg-nf-1stps-rst-ind	'I am not going'
	pí-ki-Ø-o	go-neg-2ndp-imp	'Do not go'
	wé-u-Ø-ngw-e	come-neg-nf-2ndp.rst-ind	'He is not coming'
	yé-e-Ø-bin-g-e	get-neg-nf-1stp-rst-ind	'I did not get it'

(b) 'Come' and 'go' also retain w- and p- respectively when the imperative is added.

e.g.	w-Ø-ó	come-2ndp-imp	'Come'
	p-Ø-ó	go-2ndp-imp	'Go'

(c) 'Go' also retains the pi- stem when the Event-relator morpheme -re (1.1.2.7.6.) is suffixed to it.

e.g.	pi-ré	go-rel	'went and...'

1.1.2. Suffixation.

The analysis of suffixation on verbs is best seen by dividing the verbs into five types of morphological construction according to the obligatory suffixation they take in reference to the following

four categories of suffix: tense, person-number, aspect and mood. Such a division agrees with the function these verbs have on the clause and sentence levels. The first type are the Independent verbs which take all four suffixes obligatorily. The second type are the Interrogative verbs which take tense, person-number and mood suffixes obligatorily. The third type are the Imperative verbs which only take person-number and mood obligatorily. These three types all occur in sentence final position. The fourth type are the Dependent Non-reliant verbs which take tense and person-number suffixes obligatorily and mainly occur sentence medially. The fifth type take none of these suffixes obligatorily but are reliant for tense and person-number on other verbs, and are referred to as Dependent Reliant verbs. This fifth type has only been noted to occur sentence medially. The following chart illustrates such suffixation.

\+ obligatory

± optional

\- non-occurrence in class

ORDER OF SUFFIXATION

	neg	tense	person-number	acc	aspect	mood	relator	dem	adv
Independent	±	+	+	±	+	+	-	-	-
Interrogative	±	+	+	±	-	+	-	-	-
Imperative	±	-	+	±	-	+	-	-	-
Dependent Non-reliant	±	+	+	±	-	-	+	±	±
Dependent Reliant	±	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-

It is recognised that a number of morphological breaks (and therefore the isolation of morphemes) are quite arbitrary, and alternative solutions are possible. Whatever choice is made in these cases seems quite immaterial to the overall analysis.

1.1.2.1. Negative.

The first order of suffixation is the negative, with the allomorphs -ki /-ku /-e /-u. The negative is the only suffix which has the option of occurring with all five types of verbs. The distribution of these allomorphs is dependent on whether the stem is basic high or low tone and upon the phonetic composition of the stem.

Basic low tone verb stems take either -ki or -ku negative suffix for negation depending on the suffixes following it. If the 3rd person suffix allomorph -n.w immediately follows the negative, the allomorph -ku is used for negation, the 'u' of the negative being in harmony with the 'w' of the 3rd person suffix. In all other forms of the basic low tone verb -ki allomorph is used.

e.g.	kane-kí-Ø-g-é	see-neg-nf-rst-ind	'I didn't see'
	ye-kí-Ø-n-g-é	put-neg-nf-2ndp-rst-ind	'You didn't put'
	kii-kú-Ø-ngw-é	cook-neg-nf-3rdp.rst-ind	'He didn't cook'
	kii-kí-Ø-m-ó?	cook-neg-nf-3rdp-int	'Didn't he cook?'

Basic high tone stems have a choice as to the negative allomorph they take. If 3rd person suffix -n.w immediately follows the negative, either -ku or -u is used. In all other forms of the high tone verb, -ki or -e is used. However, if -e or -u allomorph is used, the final vowel of the stem is always 'e' before them, which

causes a stem change in some verbs. The most frequently used form of the negative in the high tone stem is -e and -u, especially in fast speech.

e.g. mílé-ki-Ø-bin-g-e /mílé-e-Ø-bin-g-e be-neg-nf-1stp-rst-ind
'I was not here'

té-ki-Ø-o /té-e-Ø-yo give-neg-2ndp-imp
'Don't give it'

sí-ku-Ø-ngw-e / sé-u-Ø-ngw-e strike-neg-nf-3rdp.rst-ind
'He did not strike'

All high and low stems with 'u' or 'w' occurring in the stem and which take the negative suffix -ki may optionally take the -ku allomorph.

e.g. woo-kí-Ø-Ø-g-é /woo-kú-Ø-Ø-g-é dig-neg-nf-1stp-rst-ind
'I am not digging up...'

duu-kí-Ø-m-ú-e /duu-kú-Ø-m-ú-e wring-neg-nf-3rdp-unr-ind
'He is not wringing out..'

1.1.2.2. Tense.

The second order of suffixation is the tense position. The various tenses specified are:

210 morpheme -Ø 'non future'

220 morpheme -na /-ra /-a 'future'

230 morpheme -nala 'near future'

Dependent Reliant verbs acquire their tense from the verb upon which they rely for tense and person-number.

1.1.2.2.1. The morpheme 210 is a zero morpheme marking a non future tense, which has the effect of showing that the action of the verb has been, or is being accomplished. However, this

zero morpheme has a different meaning in the verbs of the Contrafactual Sentence 4.15 . If the speaker wishes to be specific as to the time of the action he uses a temporal word or phrase.

e.g. u-Ø-bin-g-é	come-nf-1stp-rst-ind	'I am coming' or 'I came'
erimá ubingé	yesterday-I came	'I came yesterday'
kamá kayá ubingé	long time ago-I came	'I came a long time ago.'
maliá su-Ø-ngw-é	now hit-nf-3rdp.rst-ind	'He is hitting now'

1.1.2.2.2. The morpheme 220 has three allomorphs marking future tense, -na /-a /-ra. The future shows that the action of the verb has not been accomplished in the time setting of the events being related by the speaker. Thus one finds on Dependent Non-reliant verbs a future tense morpheme which indicates that the action of the verb although accomplished, is to be taken as unaccomplished in relation to the actions of the verbs in context. The distribution of the future allomorphs used when they immediately follow the stem has been treated previously under Verb Stems (1.1.1.)

e.g. mil-a-bin-g-é	be-fut-1stp-rst-ind	'I will be'
ye-ra-bin-ó?	put-fut-1stp-int	'Will I put it'?
daa-na-n-g-é	wind-fut-2ndp-rst-ind	'You will wind up...'
d-a-m-ú-e	speak-fut-3rdp-unr-ind	'He will speak'

When the future is preceded by the negative and followed by—

(a) 1st person suffixes and dual suffix, -ra allomorph only occurs.

(b) 2nd and 3rd person suffixes, -na and -ra allomorphs occur in free variation.

e.g. gul-a-bin-g-é die-fut-1stp-rst-ind 'I will die'

gúlé-e-ra-bin-g-e die-neg-fut-1stp-rst-ind 'I will not die'

si-na-n-g-é strike-fut-2ndp-rst-ind 'You will hit'

sé-e-na-n-g-e strike-neg-fut-2ndp-rst-ind 'You will not hit'

ye-ra-m-ú-e put-fut-3rdp-unr-ind 'He will put'

ye-kí-rá-m-ú-e / ye-kí-ná-m-ú-e put-neg-fut-3rdp-unr-ind 'He will not put'

1.1.2.2.3. Near future morpheme 230, indicates that the action will be done immediately or very soon. It should be noted that an alternative analysis of this morpheme is presented on the sentence level under the Immediate Purpose Sentence, (4.14). However, the contracted form is the most predominant form in the Golin dialect so is included under the word level analysis also. The allomorphs are -ala /-nala /-rala. This suffix only occurs with Independent and Interrogative verbs. When the near future suffix immediately follows the stem, the following allomorphs occur depending on what stem class they follow:

Verb stem class 1.	-ala
Verb stem class 2a and 3.	-rala
Verb stem class 2b	-nala
Verb stem class 4.	-ala /-rala

When the future is preceded by the negative suffix, the allomorph -rala always occurs.

e.g. kan-alá-bin-g-e look-nrf-1stp-rst-ind 'I will now look'

kere-kí-rálá-bin-g-e count-neg-nrf-1stp-rst-ind 'I will not count immediately'

te-ralá-n-g-e	give-nrf-2ndp-rst-ind	'You will give it now'
té-e-rala-ngw-e	give-neg-nrf-3rdp.rst-ind	'He will not give it immediately'
Ø-nalá-bin-g-e	go-nrf-1stp-rst-ind	'I am going immediately'
ne-ralá-bin-o?	eat-nrf-1stp-int	'Will I eat it immediately'

1.1.2.3. Person-Number.

Person-number is the third order of suffixation. The morphemes of this order fit into three distinct groups. Firstly those which indicate person with no reference to number:

310 -bin 1st person 'I' or 'We'

320 -n /-Ø 2nd person 'You'

330 -m /-n.w /-n (vh) 3rd person 'He, 'She' or 'They'

The next marks duality irrespective of person:

340 -bil dual 'We two', 'You two' or 'They two'

Lastly that which indicates both person and number:

311 -l /-i /-Ø 1st person singular 'I'

1.1.2.3.1. 310 -bin 1st person.

Since there is overlap in meaning between this morpheme and 311 the question arises as to the circumstances under which a speaker chooses one in preference to the other. Because of the strong group mindedness of the clan system, it is found that the 1st person singular is not chosen frequently as the speaker is reticent to single himself out from the group. In a sense this is very similar to the idea of the 'royal' plural in English.

e.g. no-Ø-bin-g-é eat-nf-1stp-rst-ind 'We or I (as one of my clan) are eating.'

1.1.2.3.2. 320 -n /-Ø 2nd person

If the speaker wishes to distinguish number he does so by the use of free form pronouns. The Ø allomorph occurs only with the Imperative and -n occurs elsewhere.

e.g. e-Ø-n-g-é	go-nf-2ndp-rst-ind	'You are going'
inín e-Ø-n-ó?	yourself go-nf-2ndp-int	'Are you going alone?'
p-Ø-ó	go-2ndp-imp	'You go'

1.1.2.3.3. 330 -m /-n.w /-n (vh) 3rd person.

Allomorphs -n.w and -n (vh) occur in all contexts where there is a 'g' occurring in the following suffixes. For the two instances where the 3rd person is marked by -n, plus vowel harmony in either the stem or a suffix or both, see sections 1.1.2.6.6. and 1.1.2.7.6. The -m allomorph occurs in all other contexts.

e.g. to-Ø-ngw-é	give-nf-3rdp.rst-ind	'He/They gave'
kane-Ø-m-ú-e	see-nf-3rdp-unr-ind	'He/They saw'
mile-m-a	be-3rdp-imp	'He stays!'

1.1.2.3.4. 340 -bil dual.

In the same manner as -l 1st person singular has the effect of singling out the speaker from his group, so the dual marker singles out two people in all persons. It is used infrequently and almost never encountered with the 3rd person. When used in the 1st person it shows a real desire on the part of the speaker to be associated with the other person. It has a similar effect with 2nd person but not as strong. The overuse of this suffix would appear pedantic to the fluent speaker of Golin.

e.g.	no-Ø-bil-g-é	eat-nf-dual-rst-ind	'We/You/They two are eating.'
	Ø-na-bil-ó?	go-fut-dual-int	'Will we/you/they two go?'

1.1.2.3.5. 311 -l /-Ø /-i 1st person singular. This morpheme has been noted to occur where a speaker has singled out a sub-clan group from a larger clan group. When preceded by the future and near future suffixes the -l allomorph is used. In all other cases -i is used with class 2 verb stems, and Ø is used with verb stems of other classes.

e.g.	te-Ø-Ø-g-é	give-nf-1stps-rst-ind	'I gave it'
	te-Ø-í-w-a	give-nf-1stps-unr-naq	'I have given it'
	ne-ra-l-g-é	eat-fut-1stps-rst-ind	'I will eat'

1.1.2.4. Accompaniment.

The 4th order of suffixation has only the one morpheme, 410 -i 'also'. It has been noted to occur with the morphemes, 510'Unrestricted aspect', 710 'Circumstance' and 910 'Adversative' and in a limited manner with the imperative suffixes 640 'Simple imperative' and 650 'Abrupt imperative'. This use with the imperative seems more predominant in the Kia and Kere sub-dialects.

e.g.	di-Ø-bín-i-ga	speak-nf-1stp-acc-circ	'In that I/we also were speaking..'
	di-Ø-m-í-ba	speak-nf-3rdp-acc-adv	'He also was speaking but..'
	ware-ki-Ø-m-í-ga	walk-neg-nf-3rdp-acc-circ	'In that he also did not go..'
	pai-Ø-m-í-w-a	rest-nf-3rdp-acc-unr-naq	'It also rests'
	p-Ø-í-á	go-2ndp-acc-imp	'You all go'

1.1.2.5. Aspect.

The fifth order of suffixation, aspect, has three morphemes:

510	-u /-w	'Unrestricted'
520	-g	'Restricted'
530	-ø /-i /-y	'Specific'

They have the following co-occurrence restrictions with other morphemes. All the preceding orders occur with this order, but the following are restrictions on the mood morphemes which follow them:

510 is followed by -a 'Narrative-Quotative', -o 'Vocative'
-e 'Indicative'.

520 is followed by -a 'Narrative-Quotative', -o 'Vocative',
-e 'Indicative', -i 'Definitive', -iray 'Emphatic'.

530 is followed by -a 'Narrative Quotative', -o 'Vocative'.

Although the terms 'Unrestricted', 'Restricted' and 'Specific' have been used to describe these aspects, one must see the different situations in which they are used to get a feel for them.

1.1.2.5.1. 510 -u /-w 'Unrestricted aspect'.

The distribution of allomorphs is as follows: -w follows 1st and 2nd person suffixes and dual, -u follows 3rd person suffixes.

This aspect has been observed to show various kinds of situations surrounding the action of the verb to which it is attached. The situations noted have been: continuative action, customary action, habitual action, process and an action completed but with continuing consequence. It has been found to occur frequently in the following contexts:

(a) with direct quotations.

e.g. kákiibí di-Ø-m-ú-a dá. 'Say, "It is a lie"'
untrue speak-nf-3rdp-unr-naq say

ne-na-m-ú-a dungwa. '"They will eat" he said'
eat-fut-3rdp-unr-ŋaq he said

The only explanation that seems feasible is that because what was said or done had to be repeated, or is going to be repeated, then the aspect surrounding the verb is expressed as 'Unrestricted'.

(b) when it occurs as the final verb of a sentence, but the verb is repeated in the following sentence.

e.g. ..... o-Ø-m-ú-e. Ongure'.....
go-nf-3rdp-unr-ind went-3rdp-and...

..... he went. He went and.....

It appears that the idea of unrestricted aspect enters because the speaker wants the hearer to feel there is a continuing consequence to the action.

(c) as a final verb in a sentence.

e.g. no-Ø-m-ú-e eat-nf-3rdp-unr-ind 'They are eating'

kominá kiingwá gwii-Ø-m-ú-e.
food that is cooked serve out-nf-3rdp-unr-ind
'She is serving out the food that is cooked.'

In this position the feeling one gets is that the action has relevance to other actions; that is, it does not stand alone. Thus the aspect of the verb is unrestricted and affects other situations.

Other labels that may have been given this morpheme are 'Incomplete', 'Imperfect', 'Continuing', and they are no doubt some help in understanding its meaning. After saying this it should be noted that often when someone is telling a story he will use only one aspect marker and not avail himself of the others. This seems

especially true as between -u and -g, 'Unrestricted' and 'Restricted' aspects respectively.

1.1.2.5.2. 520 -g 'Restricted aspect'

The restricted aspect shows that the action of the verb is complete in itself and without reference to a specific action or time. Some of the more frequent situations in which this aspect has been found are:

(a) in normal conversation where it indicates that the action of the verb stands alone with only little relevance or consequence to other actions.

e.g. keba ne-Ø-Ø-g-é 'I am eating sweet potato'.
sweet potato eat-nf-1stps-rst-ind

said in response to the question 'What are you eating?'

(b) in recounting happenings whose import in the opinion of the speaker, has no direct significance for present circumstances.

e.g. Bál wí sunguré kowá dí píséré éré u-Ø-bin-g-a.
Bal yodelled and laughing we stopped & came-nf-1stp-rst-ind
'Bal yodelled and then we laughed and came.'

(c) Just as -u 'Unrestricted' is mostly used for what has been quoted, so -g 'Restricted' is almost exclusively used when introducing a quote.

e.g. Muúl nén irú du-Ø-ngw-a, ná kombíl
Muul fathers thus said-nf-3rdp-rst-naq I road

konagí erebingá nígí dé pire-Ø-bín-w-a. 'The men (fathers) of
working upset think-nf-1stp-unr-naq

Muul said, "We are upset about doing road work"'.

It appears that the restricted aspect is used to show that what was actually said is completed.

1.1.2.5.3. 530 -i /-y /-Ø 'Specific aspect'

This aspect does not have the haziness surrounding it as do the previous two. It has the effect of limiting the aspect of the verb to a particular time or occasion. In 1st and 2nd person, the specific aspect is a zero morpheme, except where it immediately follows 1st person singular when -y occurs. In 3rd person -i occurs but only with -m '3rd person suffix'.

e.g. Kurí abilá mile-Ø-m-í-a. 'Kuri is here now' or
Kuri here be-nf-3rdp-spc-naq 'Kuri was here then'

It should be noted that this aspect is often used with the negative.

e.g. kabé miín né-e-ra-bin-a 'I will not eat (this)
meat flesh eat-neg-fut-1stp-naq meat (now).'

The not eating of meat is limited to this occasion or this particular piece of meat.

These three aspects may be contrasted in the following sentences.

Kurí gulemúe. 'Kuri died' 'Unrestricted aspect'

The speaker gives the idea that Kuri's death is not restricted to the specific event but has a wider consequence.

Kurí gulungwé. 'Kuri died' 'Restricted aspect'

The speaker conveys the idea that Kuri died and that was all.

Kurí gulemía. 'Kuri died' 'Specific aspect'

The speaker conveys the idea that he is referring to the specific event or time of death.

1.1.2.6. Mood.

The 6th order of suffixation, mood, has various morphemes as shown below:

1.1.2.6.1. Interrogative.

1.1.2.6.1.1. 605 -e 'Eliciting interrogative'.

This morpheme occurs in clauses with an Interrogative tagmeme, and in the Final Option tagmeme of Alternative sentences (4.12.2).

e.g. tákal ne-Ø-n-e? 'What are you eating?'
what eat-nf-2ndp-int

yál Ø-na-m mo abál Ø-na-m-e? 'Is a man going or a woman?'
man go-fut-3rdp or woman go-fut-3rdp-int

1.1.2.6.1.2. 610 -o 'Yes-no interrogative'.

This morpheme has rising intonation and is used in simple yes-no interrogative clauses. High tone -o with falling intonation, is used in vocative yes-no interrogative clauses.

e.g. kani-Ø-n-ó? see-nf-2ndp-int 'Can you see?'

no-Ø-m-ó? eat-nf-3rdp-int 'Are they eating?'

no-Ø-m-ó? eat-nf-3rdp-int 'Are they eating? (vocative)'

The interrogative suffixes immediately follow the person-number suffixes i.e. they do not take the aspect suffixes.

1.1.2.6.2. 615 -o 'Vocative'

It is used in the simple clause, when one wishes to draw attention to the fact that he is speaking, or doing something, or is calling out.

e.g. no-Ø-m-ú-o! eat-nf-3rdp-unr-voc 'They are eating (voc)'

di-Ø-m-í-o! speak-nf-3rdp-spec-voc 'He spoke (voc)'

1.1.2.6.3. 620 -a 'Narrative-Quotative'

This mood is used when the speaker does not indicate any particular feeling towards the situation, thus it is used very often when quoting and in story telling. It is the mood most frequently used with 530; possibly the reason is that when this aspect is referred

to there is no need to express a strong mood.

e.g. kane-Ø-bín-Ø-a see-nf-1stp-spc-naq 'I saw it then'

to-Ø-bin-g-a gave-nf-1stp-rst-naq 'I gave it'

si-Ø-m-ú-a hit-nf-3rdp-unr-naq 'He hit'

1.1.2.6.4. 625 -e 'Indicative mood'

This mood is the one most frequently used in conversation. It perhaps carries a little more emphasis than 620, but less than 630. Any suffix may precede it except 530.

e.g. mile-Ø-m-ú-e be-nf-3rdp-unr-ind 'He is'

kamu-Ø-ngw-é see-nf-3rdp.rst-ind 'He saw'

1.1.2.6.5. 630 -i 'Definitive mood'

Measured in intensity this is stronger than 625, but less than 635. It points out or refers back to an action, object or person, as the demonstrative pronoun can in English. Of the aspect suffixes it only follows morpheme 520.

e.g. du-Ø-ngw-í be-nf-3rdp.rst-def 'It is right here'

kani-Ø-n-g-í see-nf-2ndp-rst-def 'You certainly saw it'

konagí eri-Ø-n-g-í work-nf-2ndp-rst-def 'You did that work'

1.1.2.6.6. 635 -iray 'Emphatic mood'

This mood gives a similar meaning as the English expression 'of-course'. There seems little doubt that it is a combination of -i 'Definitive' and iray 'that' (1.2.2.3.). However the combination has been considered to be one morpheme for the following reasons: iray does not occur with other suffixes, the semantic function of the combination is like that of a single morpheme, this assumption gives a

simpler analysis of the verb suffixes.

This morpheme only follows morpheme 520, in which case the 'w' of the 3rd person marker -n.w drops out when 3rd person form is used, making the final vowel of the stem the only difference between 2nd and 3rd persons.

e.g.	kane-Ø-bin-g-iráy	see-nf-1stp-rst-emp	'Of-course we saw it'
	kani-Ø-n-g-iráy	see-nf-2ndp-rst-emp	'Of-course you saw'
	kanu-Ø-n-g-iráy	see-nf-3rdp-rst-emp	'Of-course he saw it'
	te-na-n-g-iráy	give-fut-2ndp-rst-emp	'Of-course you will give it'

1.1.2.6.7. 640 -o /-yo 'Simple imperative' (singular or plural)
650 -a 'Abrupt imperative' (")
660 -ga 'Imperative request' (")

Allomorph -yo of 640 occurs with the verbs of stem class 3, except the verb 'to come' and with the verb 'to put' of stem class 2. It also occurs following the -e allomorph of negative suffix. Morphemes 640 and 650 may occur with either the negative or accompaniment but not with both simultaneously. 650 can take the negative suffix, but not tense.

e.g. of 640	p-Ø-ó	go-2ndp-imp	'Go' (singular or plural)
	ye-Ø-yó	put-2ndp-imp	'Put it' " " "
of 650	p-Ø-á	go-2ndp-imp	'You go' (abrupt)
	di-m-a	be-3rdp-imp	'It stays'
of 660	té-Ø-ga	give-2ndp-imp	'Please give it'

1.1.2.7. Relators.

The seventh order of suffixation has the morphemes which relate

the dependent and independent medial clauses to each other and to the final clauses on the sentence level. As could be seen from the chart showing occurrence of suffixes (1.1.2.), all suffixes from the seventh order on, apply to Dependent Non-reliant and Dependent Reliant verbs only. i.e. the two dependent types of morphological construction.

710	-ga	'Circumstance'
720	-gi	'Comparison'
730	-ia	'Reason-Result'
740	-ara	'Dubitative'
750	-a	'Intention'
760	-re	'Event-relator'
770	-Ø	'Simultaneous'

The morphemes 710, 720 and 730 were each first analysed as containing both aspect plus mood suffixes. However, this alternate analysis was dropped because the function of these three morphemes on the sentence level, does not appear to have any primary relationship to the appropriate combinations of aspect and mood suffixes. The morphemes 710 to 750 belong to Dependent Non-reliant verbs and so take tense and person-number obligatorily. Morpheme 760 belongs to both Dependent Non-reliant and Dependent Reliant verbs, and 770 belong to the Dependent Reliant verbs only.

1.1.2.7.1. 710 -ga 'Circumstance'

This relator encodes a number of semantic relationships on the sentence level (4.2.). It may occur with either or both of morphemes 810 and 910.

e.g. si-Ø-bin-gá strike-nf-1stp-circ 'In that we hit him...'

du-Ø-ngwá-re say-nf-3rdp.circ-dem 'Concerning this that they said...'

kuli-Ø-n-gá-re-ba rear-nf-2ndp-circ-dem-adv 'Concerning this (pig) that we reared but...'

1.1.2.7.2. 720 -gi 'Comparison'

This morpheme has not been noted to occur with either of the following suffixes, 810 'Demonstrative' or 910 'Adversitive'. The Comparison Sentence indicates the function this morpheme has on the sentence level (4.3.).

e.g. dé-ku-Ø-ngwi be-neg-nf-3rdp.comp 'It's not here...'

pé-ke-ra-1-gi go-neg-fut-1stps-comp 'I will not go...'

1.1.2.7.3. 730 -ia /-a /-ya 'Reason-Result'

The Adversative suffix 910 is the only suffix which follows this morpheme. Such co-occurrence has the effect of combining reason and antithesis in the one sentence. The distribution of allomorphs is as follows: -a occurs with 1st and 2nd person except where it immediately follows 1st person singular, when -ya occurs, -ia occurs with 3rd person.

e.g. u-Ø-m-ía come-nf-3rdp-rea 'Because he came...'

te-ra-bín-a give-fut-1stp-rea 'We will give it so...'

mile-Ø-bín-a-ba be-nf-1stp-rea-adv 'I stayed but...'

ne-Ø-í-ya eat-nf-1stps-rea 'I ate it so...'

1.1.2.7.4. 740 -ara 'Dubitative'

The Adversative suffix 910 is the only suffix which follows this morpheme. The dubitative does not form a particular sentence type

in that when it occurs as the final suffix of the verb the clause which it relates to is implied.

e.g. mil-i-Ø-ára be-1stps-nf-dub 'I think it's okay for me to stay.' (Don't you?)

mile-Ø-bin-ára-ba' be-nf-1stp-dub-adv 'I think it's okay for me to stay but..'

1.1.2.7.5. 750 -a 'Intention'

This morpheme is mutually exclusive with the following two orders of suffixation. Its occurrence on the sentence level is restricted to the more rigid sentence patterns of Intention-Desiderative Quote Sentence, Immediate Purpose Sentence and Contrafactual Sentence.

e.g. ne-na-m-á eat-fut-3rdp-intn 'They will eat...'

no-Ø-bin-á eat-nf-1stp-intn 'If you had eaten...'

te-ra-1-á give-fut-1stps-intn 'I intend to give...'

1.1.2.7.6. 760 -ride /-de /-re /-gire /-gure

'Event-relator'. Both the Dependent Reliant and Dependent Non-reliant verbs take this morpheme. However, the distribution of the allomorphs is controlled by two factors: the distinction between Dependent Reliant and Dependent Non-reliant verbs, and the verb stem classes. With the Dependent Reliant verbs class 1 stems, allomorphs -re /-de are used, and with stem classes 2,3, and 4 -re /-ride are used. When the negative suffix occurs then the shorter form allomorph -re is chosen. With the Dependent Non-reliant verbs the allomorphs -gire /-gure are used with the following distribution: -gire occurs with 1st and 2nd person suffixes, -gure occurs with 3rd person suffixes. (The vowel change is due to vowel harmony related to the person suffix). The only

suffix which follows this morpheme is -ba 'Adversative' and this has only been found to occur in the case of Dependent Non-reliant verbs. When this happens the final vowel of this suffix changes to 'a' in harmony with the vowel of the adversative suffix.

e.g. si-ré or si-ridé strike-rel 'struck and...'

kanu-Ø-nguré see-nf-3rdp.rel 'he saw and...'

ne-Ø-n-giré eat-nf-2ndp-rel 'you ate and...'

kii-ra-bin-girá-ba cook-fut-1stp-rel-adv 'I will cook and..'

1.1.2.7.7. 770 -Ø 'Simultaneous'

This morpheme belongs to the Dependent Reliant verbs and it relies on the verb of its Head tagmeme on the sentence level for person-number and tense.

e.g. milé-Ø be-sim 'is...'

It may be argued that this verb form is always part of a Multiple Stem Verb Phrase (2.1.1.3.). However, as will be seen, the function and mobility of this verb form, and the forms of verb occurring as the first elements of a Multiple Stem Verb Phrase are quite different.

1.1.2.8. Demonstrative.

1.1.2.8.1. 810 -re 'Demonstrative'

The distribution of this suffix has already been noted under 710.

e.g. su-Ø-ngwá-re hit-nf-3rdp.circ-dem 'Concerning this that he hit..'

kan-a-bin-gá-re-ba see-fut-1stp-circ-dem-adv 'Concerning this that we reared but...'

1.1.2.9. Adversative.

1.1.2.9.1. 910 -ba /-bo 'Adversative'

This suffix indicates a contrastive relationship with the following clause or sentence or with something implied. When it is contrastive with something implied and occurs finally, allomorph -bo is often used.

e.g.	pai-na-m-í-ba	rest-fut-3rdp-acc-adv	'It will also rest but...'
	sí-ki-rala-bin-ba	strike-neg-nrf-1stp-adv	'We will not strike now but...'
	Ø-na-bín-bo	go-fut-1stp-adv	'We will go with you but..' (you won't take us)

1.1.3. Tone Perturbation.

As noted earlier under the analysis of stems, there are two basic tone patterns of verb stems, high tone and low tone. On the other hand verb suffixes have not been assigned a phonetic tone value. This is because the tone which occurs on a particular suffix is not determined on its own right, but rather by its occurrence with other suffixes. The tone patterns which occur across verbs is determined by the following features:

(a) the particular suffixes which occur on the stem and

(b) whether the stem is a high tone stem or a low tone stem.

Certain suffixes have an inherent power to determine the tone pattern over all other syllables of the verb. Such inherent power within these suffixes also has an order of priority by which it exercises its influence, i.e. the occurrence of one suffix supersedes another in exercising its inherent power. For Indepen-

dent verbs the order of priority excluding the negative suffix may be stated as:

1st order	-rala	'near future' suffix
2nd order	-iray	'definitive' suffix
3rd order	-g	'restricted aspect' suffix
4th order		'person-number' suffixes.

Since person-number is obligatory this will account for all tone patterns on these verbs. For Dependent Non-reliant verbs the order of priority excluding the negative suffix may be stated as follows:

1st order	-a	'intention' suffix
	-ga	'circumstance' suffix
	-gi	'comparison' suffix
	-gire	'event-relator' suffix
	-ara	'dubitative' suffix

These suffixes are all relators (1.1.2.7.) and mutually exclusive.

2nd order 'Person-number' suffixes.

Generally speaking the tone patterns on the Dependent Reliant verbs and the Interrogative and Imperative verbs rely on whether the stem is a basic high or basic low tone.

1.1.3.1. Independent verb Tone Patterns (Excluding negative).

1.1.3.1.1. The first order priority 'near future' suffix -rala /-ala /-nala supersedes all other priority suffixes with the second syllable of the suffix taking high tone with all other syllables low.

e.g. ye-ralá-m-u-e	put-nrf-3rdp-unr-ind	'He will soon put it'
mil-alá-bin-g-e	be-nrf-1stp-rst-ind	'We will soon be'

kan-alá-bin-g-iray	see-nrf-1stp-rst-def	'Of-course I will soon see it.'
ne-ralá-m-i-a	eat-nrf-3rdp-spc-naq	'He will soon eat it'.

1.1.3.1.2. The second order priority suffix -iray 'Definitive' supersedes the 3rd and 4th order priority suffixes and its second syllable takes a high tone and all other syllables are low.

e.g. no-Ø-bin-g-iráy	eat-nf-1stp-rst-def	'Of-course we ate it'
si-ra-l-g-iráy	strike-fut-1stps-rst-def	'Of-course I will hit it.'
piri-Ø-n-g-iráy	know-nf-2ndp-rst-def	'Of-course you know'

1.1.3.1.3. The third order priority suffix -g 'Restricted' aspect supersedes the person-number priority suffixes with the syllable following it taking a high tone and with all other syllables low.

e.g. yo-Ø-ngw-é	put-nf-3rdp.rst-ind	'He put it'
si-ra-bin-g-é	strike-fut-1stp-rst-ind	'We will strike'
kan-alá-ngw-e	see-nrf-3rdp.rst-ind	'He will soon see it'

An exception to this rule is when the restricted aspect suffix occurs with narrative-quotative mood. In this case all syllables are low.

e.g. yo-Ø-ngw-a	put-nf-3rdp.rst-naq	'He put it'
si-ra-bin-g-a	strike-fut-1stp-rst-naq	'He will strike'

1.1.3.1.4. The fourth order priority suffixes are the person-number suffixes, and these determine the tone pattern on all verbs which do not have the three higher priority suffixes. The person-number suffixes take a high tone according to the following

pattern and all other syllables are low. Where the suffix has a vowel then it takes the high tone.

e.g. te-Ø-í-y-a give-nf-1stps-spc-naq 'I gave it'

yo-Ø-bín-w-a put-nf-1stp-unr-naq 'We put it'

Where the suffix does not have a vowel, then the preceding vowel takes the high tone except where the 3rd person suffix -m has a vowel immediately following, then this vowel takes the high tone.

e.g. te-rá-1-Ø-a give-fut-1stps-spc-naq 'I will give now'

no-Ø-m-í-a eat-nf-3rdp-spc-naq 'I ate it then'

kaní-Ø-n-Ø-a see-nf-2ndp-spc-naq 'I saw it then'

dí-Ø-Ø-w-a say-nf-1stps-unr-naq 'I saw it'

1.1.3.2. Dependent Non-reliant verb Tone Patterns. (Excluding negative)

1.1.3.2.1. The first order priority suffixes consist of relator suffixes which are mutually exclusive e.g. -ga 'Circumstance' -gi 'Comparison', -gire /-gure 'Event-relator', -ara 'Dubitative', -a 'Intention'. Tonally, they supersede the person-number suffixes (second order priority) taking a high tone with all other syllables low. There is one exception to this rule and that is if -i 'Accompaniment' suffix occurs with -ga 'Circumstance' then the priority of -ga is negated and the second order priority suffixes, person-number, determine the tone pattern.

e.g. Ø-na-bin-á go-fut-1stp-intn 'We are going to go'

to-Ø-bin-gá give-nf-1stp-circ 'Concerning our giving...'

ne-ra-1-gí eat-fut-1stps-com 'He will eat this...'

mile-Ø-m-ára be-nf-3rdp-dub 'I think it's okay for him to stay'

mile-Ø-bin-girá-ba be-nf-1stp-rel-adv 'We were there but..'

mile-Ø-bin-gá-re-ba be-nf-1stp-circ-dem-adv 'In that we are there but...'

to-Ø-bín-i-ga give-nf-1stp-acc-circ 'In that we also gave..'

1.1.3.3. Independent verbs and Dependent Non-reliant verbs with the Negative suffix.

When the negative suffix -ki /-ku /-e /-u is added to the stems of these two verb types, then depending on whether the stem is basic high or basic low tone, the following tone patterns occur.

1.1.3.3.1. With basic high tone stems the stem takes high tone and all suffixes including the negative are low.

e.g. té-ke-Ø-Ø-g-e give-neg-nf-1stps-rst-ind 'I did not give it'

míle-ke-ra-bin-ga be-neg-fut-1stp-circ 'In that we will not be there..'

né-ke-rala-m-i-a eat-neg-nrf-3rdp-spc-naq 'I will not eat it now'

1.1.3.3.2. With basic low tone stems, the stem takes low tone, then all the syllables from the negative to the syllable which normally takes the high tone change to high.

e.g. ye-kí-rálá-bin-g-e put-neg-nrf-1stp-rst-ind
'I will not put it right away'

kane-kí-rá-m-ú-e see-neg-fut-3rdp-unr-ind
'He will not look'

kane-kú-Ø-ngúré see-neg-nf-3rdp.rel
'He did not look and...'

ye-kí-Ø-n-g-íráy put-neg-nf-2ndp-rst-def
'Of-course you did not put it'

1.1.3.4. Imperative and Interrogative Tone Patterns.

1.1.3.4.1. Imperative Tone Patterns. Unlike all other verb types the basic tone pattern of the stem is indicated both when the imperative suffix occurs with, and without the negative suffix.

Basic high tone stems take high tones over the stem.

e.g.

Class 1 stems	míl-Ø-ó	be-2ndp-imp	'You stop'
	mílé-Ø-ga	be-2ndp-imp	'Please stop'
	pír-Ø-ó	know-2ndp-imp	'Listen'
Class 2 stems	n-Ø-ó	eat-2ndp-imp	'You eat'
	né-Ø-ga	eat-2ndp-imp	'Do eat it'
Class 3 stems	í-Ø-yó	take-2ndp-imp	'You take it'
	í-Ø-ga	take-2ndp-imp	'You take it'
Class 4 stems	s-Ø-ó	strike-2ndp-imp	'Strike'
	sí-Ø-ga	strike-2ndp-imp	'Do hit it'

When the negative is added these stems remain high, but all the suffixes are low.

e.g.	míle-ki-Ø-o	be-neg-2ndp-imp	'Do not stay'
	né-ki-Ø-o	eat-neg-2ndp-imp	'Don't eat it'
	sí-ki-Ø-o	strike-neg-2ndp-imp	'Do not strike'

Basic low tone stems take low tones over the stem.

e.g.

Class 1 stems	kan-Ø-ó	look-2ndp-imp	'You look'
	kane-Ø-gá	look-2ndp-imp	'Please look'
Class 2 stems	ye-Ø-yó	put-2ndp-imp	'Put it'
	ye-Ø-gá	put-2ndp-imp	'Do put it'

Class 3 stems	duu-Ø-yó	squeeze-2ndp-imp	'Squeeze it'
	duu-Ø-gá	squeeze-2ndp-imp	'Do squeeze it'

When the negative is added the stem remains low but all suffixes are high.

e.g.	kane-kí-Ø-ó	look-neg-2ndp-imp	'Don't look'
	kane-kí-Ø-gá	look-neg-2ndp-imp	'Please don't look'
	ye-kí-Ø-ó	put-neg-2ndp-imp	'Don't put it'
	duu-kí-Ø-ó	squeeze-neg-2ndp-imp	'Don't squeeze it'
	duu-kí-Ø-gá	squeeze-neg-2ndp-imp	'Please don't squeeze it'
	ye-kí-Ø-gá	put-neg-2ndp-imp	'Please don't put it'

1.1.3.4.2. Interrogative Tone Patterns. The interrogatives act in much the same manner as the Independent and Dependent Non-reliant verbs in that the basic tone of the stem does not take effect until the negative suffix is added.

e.g.	mili-Ø-n-ó?	be-nf-2ndp-int	'Are you here?'
	kani-Ø-n-ó?	see-nf-2ndp-int	'Do you see?'
	mílé-ke-Ø-n-o?	be-neg-nf-2ndp-int	'Aren't you here?'
	kane-kí-Ø-n-ó?	see-neg-nf-2ndp-int	'Didn't you see it?'
	ye-na-m-ó?	put-fut-3rdp-int	'Will he put it?'
	ne-na-m-ó?	eat-fut-3rdp-int	'Will he eat it?'
	ye-ké-ná-m-ó?	put-neg-fut-3rdp-int	'Won't he put it?'
	né-ke-na-m-ó?	eat-neg-fut-3rdp-int	'Won't he eat it?'

1.1.3.5. Dependent Reliant Verbs.

This verb type has considerable free variation of tone patterns. However, with only three suffixes to consider, -o 'Simultaneous'

-re 'Event-relator', and -ki 'Negative', such variation can be easily identified.

1.1.3.5.1. With the simultaneous suffix added, basic high tone stems may take either of the following patterns:

e.g. piré-Ø or píré-Ø know-sim 'know'

whereas low tone stems take either of the following.

e.g. kané-Ø or kane-Ø see-sim 'see'

One syllable stems take only their basic tone.

e.g. dí-Ø say-sim 'said'

ye-Ø put-sim 'put'

1.1.3.5.2. With the event-relator suffix added both basic high and low tone stems predominantly take the pattern of low tones with a final high.

e.g. kani-dé look-rel 'saw and...'

mili-dé be-rel 'was and...'

si-ridé saw-rel 'saw and...'

ye-ridé put-rel 'put and...'

It has been noted however, that the basic low tone stems may take low tone on the suffix as well as on the stem.

e.g. ye-re put-rel 'put and...'

kani-de see-rel 'saw and...'

It should also be noted that when this form of the verb is used in the Listing-Summary Sentence type then the event-relator suffix must take the high tone with an optional overriding listing intonation (4.6.).

When the negative suffix occurs with the event-relator suffix then the tone pattern of the stem takes its basic tone and the tone on the suffixes are: 'Negative' low tone, and 'Event-relator' high tone.

e.g.	mílé-ki-ré-	be-neg-rel	'was not and...'
	kane-ki-ré	see-neg-rel	'did not see and...'
	ye-ki-ré	put-neg-rel	'put and...'
	né-ki-ré	eat-neg-rel	'eat and...'

1.2. Non-verbs.

1.2.1. Nouns.

Nouns form a distinct category of non-verbs in that they may fill the Head tagmemes of Simple Noun Phrases and Locative Phrases. They form six sub-categories (along general semantic lines) which are illustrated by the following matrix.

	Animate	Inanimate
Non-alienable	kinship terms	body parts
Alienable	animals and liquids	concretes
Non-possessable	personal names and generic humans	place names

The basic difference between Alienable, Non-alienable and Non-possessable nouns is that the Non-alienable are obligatorily possessed, Alienable are optionally possessed and Non-possessable are never possessed. The Animate and Inanimate nouns are

distinguished by the particular form of the verb 'to be' which they take.

1.2.1.1. Non-alienable Animate Nouns.

Semantically this sub-category is composed almost solely of kinship terms and they occur with the verb stem mile- 'to be' (animate). The only exception is that the word for 'pig' has been found to occur with possessive suffixation, but usually it is included in the Alienable Animate sub-category. No doubt the importance of pigs in the culture is the reason for this usage. This sub-category optionally takes the pluralizer kobe. The order of suffixation is:

+ stem + possessive suffix ± relationship term

The relationship suffix -bi /-bia can be optionally added to any relative born in a previous generation or ones own generation, and indicates respect. This sub-category comprises two groups on the basis of the possessive allomorphs they take:

(a) those which take -an '1st person possessive'
-in '2nd person possessive'
-Ø '3rd person possessive'

e.g.	ebin-án-bi	wife-1stp.po-rsp	'my wife'
	ebin-ín-bi	wife-2ndp.po-rsp	'your wife'
	ebín-Ø-bi	wife-3rdp.po-rsp	'his wife'
	ebin-ín	wife-2ndp.po	'your wife'
	wán-án	son-1stp.po	'my son'
	wán-ín	son-2ndp.po	'your son'
	wán-Ø	son-3rdp.po	'his son'

boliman-án	pig-1stp.po	'my pig'
boliman-ín	pig-2ndp.po	'your pig'
bolimán-Ø	pig-3rdp.po	'his pig'

The terms for 'mother' and 'father' belong to this group, but differ in that (a) the 1st person possessive is an irregular form not necessitating the use of -an '1st person possessive', (b) their first person stems take an optional prefix na- '1st person possessive'.

e.g. abé / ná-abé	1stp.po-father	'my father'
nen-ín-bi	father-2ndp.po-rsp	'your father'
nén-Ø-bia	father-3rdp.po-rsp	'his father'
miná-bi / ná-miná	1stp.po-mother-rsp	'my mother'
man-ín-bi	mother-2ndp.po-rsp	'your mother'
mán-Ø-bi	mother-3rdp-rsp	'his/her mother'

(b) those which take -an '1st person possessive'

-in '2nd & 3rd person possessive'

One distinguishes between 2nd and 3rd person by the use of a free form pronoun or by the particular context.

e.g. al-an-bi sibling of opposite sex-1stp.po-rsp
'My sister' (ego male)

al-in-bi sibling of opposite sex-2nd/3rdp.po-rsp
'Your/his sister' (ego male)

ibal-án	people-1stp.po	'my people'
ibal-ín	people-2nd/3rdp.po	'your/his people'

1.2.1.2. Non-alienable Inanimate Nouns.

This sub-category mainly contains body parts (which includes a person's shadow), the notable exceptions being a person's house, land,

village and enemies. Just as the word for 'pig' shifts between the Non-alienable Animate and Alienable Animate sub-categories, so the words for 'house', 'land', and 'village' shift between the Non-alienable Inanimate and Alienable Inanimate sub-categories. However, they are heard more frequently in the Alienable Inanimate sub-category. This sub-category occurs with the verb stem di- 'to be' (inanimate). The order of suffixation is:

+ stem + possessive suffix

In the same manner as the previous sub-category, this sub-category comprises two groups according to the set of possessive allomorphs they occur with.

(a) Those which take -an '1st person possessive'
-in '2nd person possessive'
-Ø '3rd person possessive'

e.g.	an-an	hand-1stp.po	'my hand'
	an-in	hand-2ndp.po	'your hand'
	an-Ø	hand-3rdp.po	'his hand'
	giran-án	mouth-1stp.po	'my mouth'
	giran-ín	mouth-2ndp.po	'your mouth'
	girán-Ø	mouth-3rdp.po	'his/her mouth'

When the word garibá 'land' occurs in this sub-category, a final 'n' is added to its stem. This is similar to the occurrence of bolimá 'pig' in the previous sub-category.

e.g.	gariban-án	ground-1stp.po	'my land'
	gariban-ín	ground-2ndp.po	'your land'
	garibán-Ø	ground-3rdp.po	'his land'

(b) Those which take -an '1st person possessive'

-in '2nd and 3rd person possessive'

The distinction is made between 2nd and 3rd person by the use of a free form pronoun.

e.g.	gibil-án	head-1stp.po	'my head'
	gibil-ín	head-2nd/3rdp.po	'your/his head'
	ain-án	place-1stp.po	'my village'
	ain-ín	place-2nd/3rdp.po	'your/his village'
	díín-án	ribs-1stp.po	'my ribs'
	díín-ín	ribs-2nd/3rdp.po	'your/his ribs'

When the word ogu 'house' occurs in this sub-category with suffixation added, then the final vowel 'u' is dropped in 2nd/3rd person and is optionally retained in 1st person, but with the allomorph -nan '1st person possessive'.

e.g.	og-an /ogu-nan	house-1stp.po	'my house'
	og-in	house-2nd/3rdp.po	'your/his house'

An interesting feature of the tone pattern of both sub-categories of Non-alienable nouns is that the basic tone pattern spreads across the word to the possessive suffix. The relationship suffix -bi is always low tone.

e.g.	ˋ stems ⟶ ˋˋ	an	'his hand'	anan	'my hand'
	ˊ stems ⟶ ˊˊ	dén	'his stomach'	dénán	'my stomach'
	ˊˊ stems ⟶ ˊˊˊ	kébín	'his young sibling'	kébínán	'my young sibling'
	ˋˊ stems ⟶ ˋˋˊ	girán	'his mouth'	giranán	'my mouth'

The only exceptions to this rule are the third person irregular

stems nén- 'father', and mán- 'mother'. (See examples under 1.2.1.1.)

1.2.1.3. Alienable Animate Nouns.

This sub-category consists of terms which have the ability of being self propelled, with the exception of humans. However the words abál 'woman', yál 'man' gí 'girl', kumíl 'youth' gaan 'child' etc. which belong to the Non-possessable Animate sub-category, occur in this sub-category, but with an idiomatic or humourous usage connected with them. Liquids are considered as self propelled and new liquids introduced into the society have been included under this sub-category. They all occur with the stem mile- 'to be' (animate).

e.g. awí milemúe 'It is a dog'
mayán milemúe 'It is blood'
kérosín milemúe 'It is kerosene'

1.2.1.4. Alienable Inanimate Nouns.

This sub-category is composed of concrete terms which occur with the verb stem di- 'to be' (inanimate). The nouns in this sub-category are the main exponents of the Head tagmeme of the General Noun Phrase. When nouns of the previous sub-category cease to be self propelling, they are included in this sub-category.

e.g. eri dimúe 'It is a tree'
bol dimúe 'It is a bed'
bolimá dimúe 'It is pork'
pirín dimúe 'It is salt'

1.2.1.5. Non-possessable Animate Nouns.

Semantically this sub-category is composed of personal names, clan names and generic human terms. The personal names occur as exponents of the Head tagmeme of the Personal Name Noun Phrase, whereas the generic human terms occur as exponents of the Head tagmeme of the General Noun Phrase. The generic terms optionally occur with the pluralizer kobe. Being animate, this sub-category occurs with the verb stem mile- 'to be' (animate).

e.g. Kurí milemúe 'Kuri is here'
yál milemúe 'It is a man'
gí milemúe 'She is a girl'
gí kobe 'the girls'
gaan kobe 'the children'

1.2.1.6. Non-possessable Inanimate Nouns.

This sub-category is composed of place names and they occur as exponents of the Head tagmeme of Locative Phrases. Being inanimate they occur with the verb stem di- 'to be' (inanimate).

e.g. Guminé dimía 'That is Gumine'
Gorokó dimía 'It is Goroka'

1.2.2. Pronouns.

Pronouns comprise a category of non-verbs in that their occurrence on the phrase level is limited to particular tagmemes and their potential expansion within such tagmemes, is limited to a very small group of words. The pronouns have been sub-categorized

as Personal, Reflexive, Demonstrative and Interrogative.

1.2.2.1. Personal Pronouns.

The personal pronouns are a loose system and they do not distinguish between subject, object and possessive; the same form is used irrespective of its function. Their function is determined by the position they take in a clause. There are only two personal pronouns which are not compounds and they are ná 'I/We' and í 'you'. The compounds are:

yalíni 'he' formed from yál inín man himself

abalíni 'she' formed from abál inín woman herself

These pronouns join with the generic terms, pluralizer, and the numeral for 'two' to form compounds and phrases which supply the free form pronouns which correspond to the bound forms of the verbs.

e.g. ná yasu - 'we two'

í yasu - 'you two'

yasu - 'they two'

yasu being formed from yál 'man' and su 'two'

ná ibál kobe - 'we'

í ibál kobe - 'you (plural)'

ibál kobe - 'they'

1.2.2.2. Reflexive Pronouns.

There are two forms of the reflexive: inán which combines with 1st person and inín which combines with 2nd and 3rd person.

e.g. ná inán 'myself'

í inín 'you yourself'

yalíni inín 'he himself'

ná ibál kobe inán 'we ourselves'

The reflexive does not occur obligatorily with the personal pronoun. When it occurs independent of a personal pronoun, it relies on a bound form to distinguish between 2nd and 3rd person.

e.g. inín o-m-í-a self go-3rdp-spc-naq 'He himself went'

bolimá inín eru-ngw-í pig self effect-3rdp.rst-def 'The pig did it itself'

inín gariban-ín self ground-2ndp.po 'your own land'

1.2.2.3. Demonstrative Pronouns.

Two demonstratives have been found to occur:

í 'this' - an object in view or now perceived.

idáy 'that' - an object not in view or one previously seen or perceived and now referred to.

They function as the exponents of the Demonstrative tagmeme of the non-verb phrases.

e.g. Gali idáy 'That (particular) Gali'

bolimá tá í 'This one pig'

1.2.2.4. Interrogative Pronouns.

Interrogative pronouns are the main exponents of the Interrogative tagmeme on the clause level, and as such, they have no potential expansion. Those identified are:

tákal / tá 'what'

táwa 'what (words)'

téméran 'why'

támínton 'how much' or 'how many'

ena / íbéna 'who' (íbéna is a compound of ibál 'person' and ena 'who')
aldé / kóldé 'where' (kóldé is a compound of kól 'path' and aldé 'where')

e.g. tákal dime? 'What is it?'

táwa dime? 'What did he say?'

íbéna ume? 'Who came?'

kóldé ene? 'Where did you go?'

1.2.3. Locatives.

The main function of the locatives occurs on the phrase level and to a lesser degree on the clause level. However, suffixation does occur on a number of the locatives. Thus the locatives comprise two sub-categories; those which occur with the proximity suffix and those which do not.

1.2.3.1. Suffixed Class.

This class take the proximity suffix -a /-ya 'here', 'this' which indicates nearness to the speaker. They mainly occur in the Modifier tagmemes of the Locative Phrase.

e.g. imé 'below the speaker'

amé 'below the speaker but on his side.'

ibé 'above the speaker'

abé 'above the speaker but on his side'

malgé 'village centre'

malgiá 'village centre here'

suna 'middle'

sunayá 'middle here'

koli 'this section'

kolá 'this section near speaker'

alá 'inside'

aliá 'inside here'

The words for 'below the speaker' and 'above the speaker' have reference to the direction of the valley, and to the direction the river flows. Where a village is down the valley, even if higher in altitude than the speaker, it is referred to as being 'below the speaker'.

1.2.3.2. Unsuffixed Class.

These locatives occur as exponents of the Attributive tagmeme and Modifier 1 tagmeme of the Locative phrase.

e.g. binán 'alongside'

mínín 'topmost' (of trees etc.)

idé 'there' (a term that is used when one is uncommitted as to the position of the speaker)

maalá 'near'

tayán 'far'

1.2.4. Descriptives.

Descriptives have been treated as a separate category of non-verbs in that they have the function of modifying the Head tagmemes of non-verb phrases. They have the distinctive feature of not being able to be possessed, and of being relatively free of suffixation. Descriptives are sub-categorized on both structural and semantic grounds.

1.2.4.1. Adjectives.

Words in this sub-category occur as the exponents of the Modifier tagmemes of the General Noun Phrase. They have the semantic qualities which generally indicate age, colour, size or shape and quality.

e.g. gólín 'old' (of inanimate)

dimanín 'old' (of animate)

pégé 'white'

arawáy 'long'

digán 'bad'

1.2.4.2. Intensifiers.

The intensifiers mainly act as intensifiers of peripheral tagmemes; however, they also occur as intensifiers of nuclear tagmemes. The intensifiers occur both with verb and non-verb phrases. They are divided into two classes on the structural basis of those which intensify nuclear tagmemes and those which intensify peripheral tagmemes. wén, wó and kí, each having the general meaning 'very' intensify nuclear tagmemes whereas only wén has been noted to occur intensifying peripheral tagmemes.

e.g. Intensifying nuclear tagmemes.

awí wó
dog very 'a real dog'

nega wén dimúe
hot very it is 'it's very hot'

abál kí
woman very 'a tremendous woman'

Intensifying peripheral tagmemes.

ogu gólín wén
house old very 'a very old house'

míné wén ibé
top very above speaker 'on the very top above the speaker'

ómálé kaún wén
noon time right 'right at noon'

sutan wén
two definitely. 'definitely two'

bigin waí wén singé
wash good very you strike 'You washed it very well'

1.2.4.3. Pluralizer.

Although there is only one word in this sub-category, the word kobe which indicates plurality, its distribution is such as to treat it separately from the numerals. It occurs as a pluralizer of the generic human terms of the Non-possessable Animate and the Non-alienable Animate noun sub-categories.

e.g.	miná kobe	my mother pl	'my mothers'
	ebín kobe	his wife pl	'his wives'
	abál kobe	woman pl	'women'
	bolimá kobe	pig pl	'pigs'
	gaan kobe	child pl	'children'

The pluralizer also occurs as a demonstrative form kobi 'these'.

e.g.	abál kobi	woman pl	'these women'
	abé kobi	my father pl	'these fathers of mine'

1.2.4.4. Numerals.

The numerals form two sub-categories mainly on semantic grounds, definite number and indefinite number. Structurally the indefinite numerals do not occur as constituents of the Numeral Phrase, whereas

the definite numerals do. Both sub-categories occur as modifiers to the Simple Noun Phrases.

1.2.4.4.1. Definite Numerals.

These will be listed under the Numeral Phrase (2.2.5.).

1.2.4.4.2. Indefinite Numerals.

The only suffixation noted to occur on some of the words of this sub-category is the intensifier -ta /-ga /-waaga.

e.g.	taulé	'few'
	taulé-ta	'very few'
	taulé-ga	'very few'
	taulé-waága	'very very few'
	binánbile	'many', 'a lot'
	múrú	'all'
	miriki	'many'
	párá	'the whole'
	kírárá	'everyone/everything'

Some of these combine into compound expressions for the purpose of intensification.

e.g.	párá múrú	'the whole lot'
	kírárá múrú	'absolutely everyone'

1.2.4.5. Temporals.

The same dichotomy of definite versus indefinite which applies to numerals applies also to temporals. However, the temporals have a stronger structural basis for distinguishing the sub-categories; definite temporals occur as exponents of the Definite Point tagmeme,

while the indefinite occur as exponents of the Indefinite Point tagmeme of the Temporal Phrase.

1.2.4.5.1. Definite Temporals.

There are only six definite temporals and they are:

keminá	'today'
erimá	'one day from today' (tomorrow or yesterday)
taale	'two days from today'
éí	'three days from today'
mané	'four days from today'
kiné	'five days from today'

A full statement of the semantic (contextual) meaning of these words can only be gained with reference to the tense of the verb.

e.g. erimá o-Ø-bin-g-é one day from today go-nf-1stp-rst-ind
'We/I went yesterday'

erimá Ø-na-bin-g-é one day from today go-fut-1stp-rst-ind
'We/I will go tomorrow'

1.2.4.5.2. Indefinite Temporals.

Only one of the Indefinite temporals has been found to take the intensifying suffix -ga /-gira 'very'. The following is not an exhaustive list.

e.g. maliá 'now'

maliá-gá /maliá-gírá 'right now'

omalé 'noon'

goma 'before', 'previously'

kayá 'already'

1.2.5. Adverbs.

Non-verbs in this category are structurally distinct in that they occur as exponents of the Manner tagmeme on the clause level. A number of the words in this category also function in the Descriptive category and Conjunction category. Adverbs are only expandable by the use of the intensifier wén 'very' which itself may also function as an adverb.

e.g.	wén	'thoroughly', 'well'
	bíl	'heavily', 'hard'
	párá	'enough'
	waí wén	'very well'
	kírárá	'completely'
	tá	'certainly not' (as intensifier with negative)

1.2.6. Conjunctions.

Conjunctions form a distinct category of non-verbs in that they have the function of conjoining two similar constituents of a construction. Such constructions being either words, phrases, clauses or sentences.

1.2.6.1. Co-ordinative Conjunctions.

(a) Those which conjoin non-verbs and non-verb phrases:

ya	'and'
idé	'and'
té	'hesitation' (indicates indecision concerning following constituent)

té may combine with ya or idé to form the co-ordinative conjunction compounds, idé té 'and (hesitation)', ya té 'and (hesitation)'.

When one of these co-ordinative conjunctions is chosen, it is used consistently throughout the phrase. However, the hesitation marker té often occurs after a succession of ya's or idé's.

(b) Those which conjoin clauses and sentences:

ne	'then'	
pare	'after'	(only occurs after the Event-relator suffix, when it is the terminal suffix)
té	'hesitation'	

These combine to form the following co-ordinating conjunctive compounds.

ne té	'and then'
pare ne	'and then after'

The co-ordinating conjunction ne is an abbreviated form of the word ená 'then', which has two functions on the paragraph level:

(a) that of signalling, along with other indicators, the commencement of a new paragraph and

(b) as an introducer of a discourse, where it takes the vocative enó and has the function of drawing attention to what the speaker is going to say.

1.2.6.2. Disjunctive Conjunction.

The disjunctive conjunction mo 'or' only functions as a conjoiner of clauses and sentences within the Alternative sentence type. Examples of its occurrence may be found in section 4.12.

1.2.6.3. Comparative Conjunctions.

The Comparative conjunction mere 'like' or 'just as' functions as a comparative between nouns, as well as between clauses and sentences in the Resemblance Sentence type.

(a) Between nouns it has the same structure as the axis conjunction (see 1.2.6.4. below), i.e. it follows the items which it joins.

e.g. Kone diminá mere pirebingé. 'I think Kone is just like the bush.'
Kone bush like I think

(b) Between clauses it occurs between the two constituents it joins.

e.g. Ká dungwá mere éró. 'Do just as he says'
word he says just as do

(c) Between sentences it also occurs between the two constituents it joins. (see section 4.13. for examples of this.)

1.2.6.4. Axis Conjunctions.

There are three axis single conjunctions:

bólé 'together'

párá 'also'

éréko 'with'

These combine to form the following axis conjunction compounds.

bólé párá 'together also'

bólé éréko 'together with'

These axis conjunctions join various non-verb phrases to form the Accompaniment Noun Phrase. (see section 2.2.2.3. for examples)

NOTES

1. Lyons J. 1969 p203
2. With reference to a similar dichotomy see Franklin K. 1971 p 30ff.
3. It is possible to formulate these changes into a set of morphophonemic rules. However, the resulting complexity of the rules needed indicated that on the grounds of simplicity, the above analysis is more satisfactory. It should be noted, however, that for making a diachronic analysis of the verb morphology of the related languages in the Chimbu area morphophonemic procedures provide interesting comparisons. See McVinney P & Lusbetak L. 1954 pp 74-79 and Irwin B. 1971 pp 8-11

CHAPTER II

2. Phrase.

2.1. Verb Phrases.

The distinction between verbs and non-verbs is also maintained on the phrase level in both their structure and function. Generally speaking the non-verb phrases are endocentric, whereas the verb phrases are exocentric. If we take a typical verb phrase such as

eqin gale ere milungwa. 'He continues to dance in regalia'
ad. burn effect he is

only the affixed stem tagmeme milungwa may function with the same syntagmatic relationship as the complete verb phrase. However, even though it may do this, the meaning it then has is different, for when milungwa occurs as a Single Stem Verb Phrase it has the meaning 'he is', but in the above Continuative Periphrastic Verb Phrase it simply denotes the continuous action of the verb specified in the non-affixed stem tagmeme.

Contrasting with this we have the endocentricity of non-verb phrases. In the following General Noun Phrase,

na awi bil sutan 'my two big dogs'
my dog big two

the exponents of the Head tagmeme and the two Modifier tagmemes may function with the same syntagmatic relationship as the complete General Noun Phrase. If the exponents of the Modifier tagmemes bil 'big' and sutan 'two' are to function in the same manner as the complete phrase, then there needs to be sufficient contextual material present to allow for the ellipsis of the Head tagmeme.

Verb phrases fall into the following three categories: Simple, Periphrastic and Repetitive. The Simple and Periphrastic categories have the following general structure:

± Non-affixed stems or adjuncts + Affixed stem ± Conjunction.

The Repetitive category has the following general structure:

+ Head + Repetition ± Conjunction.

2.1.1. Simple Verb Phrase.

This category differs from the Periphrastic Verb Phrase in that the semantic content of the affixed stem does not convey the aspectual meaning as do the affixed stems of the Periphrastic Verb Phrase.

2.1.1.1. Single Stem Verb Phrase.

This sub-category does not take optional non-affixed stems or adjuncts. Single stem verbs with affixation occur as exponents of the affixed stem tagmeme and the conjunction tagmeme is expounded by the locative set ide, ibe and ime with Independent verbs in sentence final position,[1] and by the conjunctions ne, te, pare, ne pare, ne te and pare ne with the Dependent verbs.

e.g. Independent verbs.

dungwi ime it is there below speaker	'It's down there'
kanebingi ide I saw there	'I saw it there'

Dependent verbs.

sibinga ne... we struck then	'We struck it then...'
dungure pare... he said after	'After he said...'

kanide ne te... 'Saw it and then...'
saw and then and

The exponents of the Conjunction tagmeme are the same for the following two sub-categories of the Simple Verb Phrase.

2.1.1.2. Single Phrasal Stem Verb Phrase.

This sub-category consists of an adjunct word expounding the Non-affixed Stem tagmeme, plus an affix carrying stem with the optional Conjunction tagmeme occurring in the same manner as in the Single Stem sub-category. One particular feature of this verb phrase sub-category is that it may be split between the adjunct and affixed stem, by the clause level tagmemes of Subject, Manner, Location, Temporal and Interrogative. This feature will be handled more fully in the following chapter on clauses. There are semantic restrictions as to which clause level tagmeme may split each particular verb phrase.

The Non-affixed Stem tagmeme is expounded by one or two adjunct words, some of which are unique to this class, and therefore it is difficult to determine a separate meaning for them apart from the affixed stem. Others of the adjuncts occur elsewhere in various non-verb word classes.

Adjuncts unique to adjunct class

e.g. pena galungwe 'They do things together'
ad. they burn

egin erungwi ime 'They are dancing down there'
ad. they do down

Adjuncts which occur in non-verb classes

e.g. u maribe ongwe 'It is shown'
come reveal it goes

baa galungwe 'He is blushing'
red he burns

bil ongwe 'He is growing big'
big he goes

gain sungwe 'He is peeling'
skin he strikes

baan ongwe 'He is growing up'
place he goes

Most of the exponents of the Affixed Verb Stem tagmeme also occur as Single Stem Verb Phrases; however, a few occur only as affixed stems with the adjuncts.

e.g. egin galungwe 'They are dressing up'
ad. they burn

galungwe 'They are burning (wood)'

kay miingwe 'He is crying'
ad. he cries

miingwe has not been noted to occur as a single verb.

2.1.1.3. Multiple Stem Verb Phrase.

Verb phrases in this sub-category are simply groupings of the two previous sub-categories with the final verb stem of the group occurring as the exponent of the Affixed Stem tagmeme. When such groupings take place the complete phrase indicates the meaning of the action and often it is difficult to equate this meaning with that of the verb stems used in isolation.

Groupings of Single Stem Verb Phrases have been found to occur to the third degree.

e.g. si ki nomia 'He prepared and ate the meat'
strike cook he ate

di bilemia say he marks	'He resembles'
di bile dige say mark I said	'I inferred (by speech)'
kane milege look I am	'I am waiting'
ye milungwe put he is	'He is minding (the child)'

Single Phrasal Stem Verb Phrases have been noted to group together to the second degree only.

e.g. kela kule kiraan simia 'He tempted'
ad. bear ear he struck

This is a grouping of kela kulemia 'He deceived' and kiraan simia 'He enticed'.

Where the adjuncts of the Single Phrasal Stem Verb Phrases are the same then the second adjunct is omitted.

e.g. egin gale erungwe 'He dances in regalia'
ad. burn he effects

This is a grouping of egin galungwe 'He is dressing up in regalia' and egin erungwe 'He is dancing'.

Single Stem Verb Phrases and Single Phrasal Stem Verb Phrases also join together to form Multiple Stem Verb Phrases.

e.g. aa te nongwe 'He owns'
ad. give he eats

This is a grouping of aa tongwe 'He holds' and nongwe 'He eats.

nigi de pirungwe ad. cooked he knows	'He is upset'

This is a grouping of nigi dongwe 'It is no good' and pirungwe 'He knows'.

2.1.2. Periphrastic Verb Phrases.

Many of the Simple Verb Phrases combine with a number of particular stems which indicate various types of aspectual meaning, and thus form the Periphrastic Verb Phrase. The Simple Verb Phrase section of the periphrase is uninflected, and it retains the meaning it has when it occurs independent of the periphrase. The verb stem which indicates the aspectual meaning carries the affixation. This aspectual meaning is not necessarily related to the meaning the particular verb stems have when they occur apart from the periphrase. It should be noted that these same stems also occur as affix-carrying stems of the Multiple Stem Verb Phrase; however the different function enables one to distinguish between such usage.

There are semantic restrictions as to which Simple Verb Phrase can occur with the various stems that indicate aspectual meaning. The verb stem bau- 'to be stuck to' has implied in its meaning the idea of continuation, and so does not occur as an exponent of the Non-affixed Stem tagmeme in the Continuative Periphrastic Verb Phrase. Many similar semantic restrictions occur in the various sub-categories of this verb phrase.

The Periphrastic Verb Phrases have been sub-categorized into five groups mainly on semantic grounds.

2.1.2.1. Benefactive Periphrastic Verb Phrase.

This sub-category has the following structure:

+ Non-affixed stem + Affixed stem ± Conjunction.

The Non-affixed Stem tagmeme has as its exponents Simple Verb Phrases and the Conjunction Tagmeme has the same exponents as it has under

the Simple Verb Phrase. The Affixed Stem tagmeme is expounded by the verb stem te-. When this stem is used as a Single Stem Verb Phrase, it means 'to give', but when it is used in this periphrase it indicates that the action expressed by the Simple Verb Phrase is performed on behalf of, or on account of somebody, that person being expressed in the Indirect Object tagmeme.

e.g. si ki tongwe 'He cooked the meat for...'
strike cook he gave

nigi de pire tongwe 'He was upset with...'
ad. cooked know he gave

keba ki tongwi ime 'There's the sweet potato he
sweet potato cook he gave down there cooked for....'

The clause level tagmeme Indirect Object may occur immediately preceding the Affixed stem.

e.g. di na tomia 'He said to me'
speak me he gave

2.1.2.2. Completive Periphrastic Verb Phrase.

This sub-category has the same structure and exponents as 2.1.2.1. except that:

(a) the Affixed Stem tagmeme is expounded by the verb stem pisere- and wei si-

(b) the Conjunction tagmeme does not take those exponents which apply to Independent verbs in sentence final position (2.1.1.1.).

The verb stem pisere- used as a Single Stem Verb Phrase means 'to discard' or 'to let go', and the verb stem wei si- used as a Single Phrasal Stem Verb Phrase means 'to finish'. However, when these verb stems occur in this periphrase, they indicate that

the action of the verb expressed by the Simple Verb Phrase has been completed.

e.g. bigin si piseremue 'He completed washing'
ad. strike he let go

kane piseride pare ne.. 'After (he) completed looking
look let go & after then then...'

ki wei sungwe 'He completed building'[2]
build ad. strike 'He completed cooking'

konagi ere wei sungwe 'He completed the work'
work effect ad. strike

2.1.2.3. Continuative Periphrastic Verb Phrase.

This sub-category has the same structure and exponents as 2.1.2.1. except that the verb stems which occur in the Affixed Stem tagmeme are mile-, pai- and e-. When mile- is used as a Single Stem Verb Phrase it means 'to be' (animate), whereas pai- /paa- means 'to be correct' or 'to rest', and e- means 'to go'. When they occur in this periphrase they denote the continuous action of the verb expressed by the Simple Verb Phrase. The verb stem e- 'to go' is used as an alternative to the other stems, but not in all instances. If the final stem in the Simple Verb Phrase is mile- or pai- then they are followed by pai- and mile- respectively.

e.g. nil pai milungwi ime 'He continues washing him-
water rest he is down there self down there.'

ye mile paabinge 'I continue minding (a child)'
put be I rest

konagi ere milemue or
work effect he is 'He continues working'

konagi ere paamue
work effect he rests

ki milungwi or ki ongwi 'He continues cooking'
cook he being cook he going

2.1.2.4. Audible Periphrastic Verb Phrase.

This sub-category has the same structure as 2.1.2.1. except that the verb stem di- occurs in the Affixed Stem tagmeme and is limited to third person. When di- is used as a Single Stem Verb Phrase it means 'to say' or 'to be' (inanimate). However, in the context of this periphrase it indicates that the action of the Simple Verb Phrase is audible or in some cases predictable.

e.g. nimin si dungwe 'It is the sound of rain' or
rain strike it says 'It is about to rain'

gi kaa di dungwi ibe 'It is the sound of courting up
girl ad. say it says up there'

kura bile dungwe 'It is the sound of fighting'
fight mark it says

2.1.2.5. Suspended Periphrastic Verb Phrase.

This sub-category has the same structure as 2.1.2.1. except that the verb stem paale- occurs in the Affixed Stem tagmeme. The verb stem paale- has not been noted to occur as a Single Stem Verb Phrase. In this periphrase it signifies that the action of the Simple Verb Phrase has been suspended or adjourned.

e.g. ka kol ere paalebinge 'We adjourned the arbitra-
word section effect we adjourned tion'

kura bile paalungwe 'They have suspended the
fight mark they suspended fighting'

gul si paalebina 'We suspended erecting the
fence strike we suspended fence'

ogu ki paalungure pare... 'After he suspended build-
house build he suspended after ing...'

2.1.3. Repetitive Verb Phrase.

This category of Verb Phrase has three separate sub-categories. Each of these has the structural feature of repeating in exact form words contained in the Head tagmeme. This repetition has been noted to occur to the fifth degree. The sub-categories are also linked semantically in that they all express continuance in time or action, or both.

2.1.3.1. Passage of Time and Action Verb Phrase.

This sub-category focuses on the action of the verb and the time taken for the action. It has the following structure:

+ Head + Repetition

The Head tagmeme is expounded by Simple Verb Phrases and by Continuative Periphrastic Verb Phrases, which take as their final suffix the Circumstance suffix (1.1.2.7.1.) or the Reason suffix (1.1.2.7.3.), the former being more predominant.

e.g. kuria di milangwa di milangwa di milangwa...
chant say being say being say being
'They will continue singing and singing'

omia omia omia 'They kept on going and going...'
going going going

ki nanga ki nanga.... 'They will go on building
build will go build will go and building'

The Repetition tagmeme is expounded by the affix-carrying stem of the Verb Phrase which occurs as the constituent of the Head tagmeme together with the preceding non-affixed stem, but not adjuncts.

e.g. egin ere milungwa ere milungwa... 'They continued dancing
ad. make being make being and dancing'

mile paangwa mile paangwa mile paangwa... 'They stayed, stayed and stayed...'
be resting be resting be resting

2.1.3.2. The Passage of Time Verb Phrase.

This sub-category focuses on the passage of time taken during the action. It has the same structure as the previous sub-category i.e. + Head + Repetition

The Head tagmeme is expounded by the same verb phrases as the previous sub-category except that the Simple Verb Phrases do not occur.

e.g. si milungwa milungwa milungwa... 'They kept on and on striking...'
strike being being being

gala di milungwa milungwa milungwa.. 'They kept on and on calling out...'
ad. say being being being

ne nanga nanga... 'You will go on and on eating'
eat will go will go

The Repetition tagmeme is expounded by the affix carrying stem of the verb phrase which occurs as the constituent of the Head tagmeme.

e.g. ki nanga nanga nanga... 'You will go on and on and on building...'
build will go will go will go

gaan ye mile paangwa paangwa... 'You will continue on and on caring for the child'
child put be resting resting

ki pai milungwa milungwa milungwa.. 'You will continue on and on living there'
build rest being being being

2.1.3.3. Passage of Action Verb Phrase.

This sub-category focuses on the action of the verb. It has the following structure:

+ Head + Repetition ± Conjunction

The Head tagmeme is expounded by verb phrases composed of non-affixed verb stems. It expresses the lexical meaning content of the verb phrase.

e.g. si si sire pare... 'After they hit and hit and
hit hit hit and after hit...'

ere ere ere... 'Made and made and made...'
made made made

kiraanin bile pi pi pire... 'They followed and followed and
his ear mark go go go and followed...'

The Repetition tagmeme simply repeats the last stem of the Head tagmeme. The final repetition carries the affixation.

e.g. ki te mile mile... '(she) will continue serving and
cook give be be serving...'

si si sire pare... 'After (they) struck and struck
hit hit hit and after and struck'

sikul di mile mile... '(he) will continue doing and
school say be be doing school work'

The Conjunction tagmeme is expounded by the conjunctions which occur with dependent verbs (2.1.1.1.).

e.g. si si siride ne... '(they) hit and hit and hit and
hit hit hit and then then...'

sikul di mile mile pare...'After (he has) continued, doing
school say be be after and doing school work...'

2.2. Non-verb Phrases.

The reasons for the general distinction between verb phrases and non-verb phrases has been given previously under 2.1. Non-verb phrases comprise five categories: Simple Noun Phrases, Complex Noun Phrases, Locative Phrases, Temporal Phrases and Numeral Phrases. All categories except the Numeral Phrases have been posited on the basis of their internal structure and their occurrence as constituents of clause level tagmemes. With these categories, preference

is given to expression in short phrases and many clauses, rather than long phrases and few clauses.

The Numeral Phrases do not occur as constituents of clause level tagmemes and could have been treated as compound type expressions under the word level. It was thought however, to include them under the phrase level because of their internal structure and length of expression.

2.2.1. Simple Noun Phrases.

Noun phrases form two categories in that their internal structures are quite different, and in that Complex Noun Phrases have as their constituents Simple Noun Phrases. Both categories occur as constituents of the Subject, Object and Indirect Object tagmemes on the clause level. The general structure of this category is:

Head plus Modifier plus Demonstrative

2.2.1.1. General Noun Phrases.

This sub-category has the following structure:

$$+\left[\pm(\pm \text{ Pos } + \text{ Head}) \pm \text{Mod}\right] \pm \text{Mod 2} \pm \text{Mod 3} \pm \text{Mod 4} \pm \text{Mod 5}\right] \pm \text{Dem}$$

Although the Head tagmeme is optional, this is only so because ellipsis of the Head tagmeme can occur where the context is clear as to the object referred to. The Possessive tagmeme does not occur when ellipsis of the Head tagmeme occurs. Although all Modifier tagmemes may be intensified, the maximum noted in any one particular phrase has been two. It should be noted that although this formula generates all of the General Noun Phrases which have been

observed, fully expanded phrases matching the above formula do not occur in data. In fact preference is given to short phrases using multiple clauses where the speaker wishes to describe fully a certain object.

e.g. Na bolima gawlin sutan kulegire pege bil milemue.
my pig offspring two I reared white big they are
'I reared two piglets and they are big white ones.'

Na bolima gawlin pege bil sutan milemue.
my pig offspring white big two they are
'They are my two big white piglets'.

The Possessive tagmeme has as its exponents Pronouns, Non-alienable Animate Nouns, Non-possessable Animate Nouns, Kinship Noun Phrases and Personal Name Noun Phrases.

e.g. na gal 'my net bag'
my net bag

abe ogu
my father house 'my father's house'

Kuri simil 'Kuri's bow'
Kuri bow

Na ebinanbi alenbi wan ogu - 'My wife's brother's son's house'
my my wife her brother his son house

Golin Egeku kare 'Golin Egeku's car'
Golin Egeku car

All of these exponents may be expanded by the use of the reflexive pronouns (1.2.2.2.). Where this expansion occurs and the context is clear, ellipsis of the Possessive tagmeme may occur.

e.g. inin ogin 'his/your own house'
own his/your house

The Head tagmeme has as its exponents Alienable Animate Nouns, Alienable Inanimate Nouns, Non-alienable Inanimate Nouns and the

generic human terms of the Non-possessable Animate Nouns.

e.g. Kuri awi bil sutan 'Kuri's two big dogs'
Kuri dog big two

na eri binanbile 'all my wood'
my wood much

i anin 'your hand'
your your hand

abal bilkau ta 'the large woman'
woman large one

Expansion of the Head tagmeme takes place in the following ways:

(a) by the grouping of words which form a type of compound which are possessed and modified as a whole.

e.g. yalini an gwaalin sui sui 'his four arm joints'
his arm joints two two

na erewan ogu 'my grass roofed house'
my grass house

Kuri awi bolima binanbile 'Kuri's many four legged animals'
Kuri dog pig many

(b) by the occurrence of the intensifiers wen 'real', 'true' with Alienable Inanimate Nouns and wo 'superb' with Alienable Animate Nouns.

e.g. na abal bolima wo sutan 'my two superb sows'
my woman pig superb two

Ninkama eri wen 'Ninkama's real wood'
Ninkama wood real

(c) by the occurrence of the pluralizer kobe with the generic human terms.

e.g. gi kobe binanbile 'many girls'
girls pl many

When the words yal 'man', abal 'woman', ibal 'person' occur with the demonstrative form of the pluralizer kobi, these words may take

an optional -in suffix.

e.g. ibalin kobi 'Those people'
person those

yalin kobi 'Those men'
man those

The Modifier tagmemes 1 to 4 are expounded by Adjectives (1.2.4.1.) and the Modifier tagmeme 5 is expounded by Numerals (1.2.4.4.) and Numeral Phrases (2.2.2.5.). All Modifier tagmemes may be expanded by the use of the intensifier wen 'very'. The Modifier 1 tagmeme is expounded by adjectives which indicate the semantic quality of age.

e.g. Kuri ogu golin wen 'Kuri's very old house'
Kuri house old very

Gumine yal dimanin ta 'an old Gumine man'
Gumine man old one

The Modifier 2 tagmeme is expounded by adjectives which indicate the semantic quality of colour.

e.g. na galsuna golin pege 'my old white shirt'
my shirt old white

na awi kunaku wen wai 'my very spotted good dog'
my dog spotted very good

The Modifier 3 tagmeme is expounded by adjectives which indicate the semantic quality of size or shape.

e.g. na bolima pege bil sutan 'my two white pigs'
my pig white big two

Gali inin ogu arawakiina wen 'Gali's own very long house'
Gali own house very long very

The Modifier 4 tagmeme is expounded by adjectives which indicate the semantic property of quality. A restricted number of words have been noted to occur in this tagmeme.

e.g. abal digan sutan 'two bad women'
women bad two

na gal mege wai ta 'my one good small bag'
my bag small good one

yalini ogu bil wai wen 'his very good large house'
his house big good very

The exponents of the Modifier 5 tagmeme have been previously stated; examples of these are:

na bolima wai anan kole muru 'my five good pigs'
my pig good my hand part all

i ogu taran wen 'your one only house'
your house one very

Kuri kabe para muru 'all Kuri's bananas'
Kuri banana whole all

The Demonstrative tagmeme is expounded by Demonstrative Pronouns (1.2.2.3.). This tagmeme may occur contiguous with any other tagmeme except the Possessive. It is not intensified.

e.g. na awi sutan iday 'those two dogs of mine'
my dog two those

pege i 'this white one'
white one

2.2.1.2. Kinship Noun Phrase.

This sub-category has the following structure:

± Possessive + Head ± Numeral ± Demonstrative

Its maximum expansion consists of the four tagmemes and these expansions occur regularly in data. The minimum exponent is the Head tagmeme occurring alone.

The Possessive tagmeme has as its exponents Pronouns, Non-alienable Animate Nouns, Non-possessable Animate Nouns, Kinship Noun

Phrases, and Personal Name Noun Phrases. However, the exponent Non-possessable Animate Nouns does not include the semantic categories of clan names or generic human terms. These exponents may be expanded by the use of the reflexive pronouns inan and inin as in the General Noun Phrase.

e.g. na ebinanbi alenbi 'my wife's brother'
my my wife sibling of opposite sex

Kobila alenbi 'Kobila's sister'
Kobila sibling of opposite sex

Pari Maril winbi 'Pari & Maril's husband'
Pari Maril their husband

inan mina 'my own mother'
my own my mother

Where the kinship terms nen 'his father' and man 'his mother' are used in an idiomatic sense and expound the Head tagmeme, the Possessive tagmeme may take various exponents not included above. However, these exponents are not intensified by the use of the reflexive.

e.g. badisi baa nen 'the owner of the red plane'
plane red his (father)

Kone nen ta
Kone (place)his (father) one 'One of Kone's men'

kobile moni man 'the owner of the money'
stone money his (mother)

The Head tagmeme has for its exponents Non-alienable Animate Nouns. They may be expanded by the use of the intensifier wen 'real'

e.g. i manin wen 'your real mother'
your your mother real

Kuri yaun 'Kuri's grandfather'
Kuri his grandfather

The Numeral tagmeme has the same exponents as the Modifier 5 tagmeme of the General Noun Phrases. This tagmeme may be expanded by the use of the intensifier wen 'very, 'only'.[3]

e.g. kebinanbi sutan 'my two younger brothers/sisters'
my younger sibling two

na mina taran wen 'my only mother'
my my mother one only

ebinbi binanwenbile 'his very many wives'
his wife very many

The Demonstrative tagmeme is expounded by the Demonstrative pronouns (1.2.2.3.).

e.g. na abe iday 'that father of mine'
my my father that

na mina ta i 'this one mother of mine'
my my mother one this

2.2.1.3. Personal Name Noun Phrase.

This sub-category has the following structure:

+ Head ± Numeral ± Demonstrative

A notable difference between this sub-category and the two previous sub-categories is that the Head tagmeme cannot be possessed. The Head tagmeme has as its exponents Pronouns and Non-possessable Animate Nouns with the exception of the generic human terms. This sub-category may be expanded in the following ways:

(a) by the use of the reflexive

e.g. yalini inin 'he himself'
he himself

Gali inin 'Gali himself'
Gali himself

(b) by the juxtaposing of personal names. The last syllable of each name in apposition with the exception of the last name in the series, is a ballistic syllable followed by voicelessness and is marked by a comma.

e.g. Kuri, Gali, Simau 'Kuri, Gali and Simau'
Kuri Gali Simau

(c) by the grouping of two clan names. In such a grouping tribal names precede clan names and clan names precede sub-clan names, that is, one proceeds from the generic to the specific.

e.g. Golin Egeku 'the Egeku clan of the Golin tribe'

Egeku Kobila 'the Kobila sub-clan of the Egeku clan'

Milaku Kunaraku 'the Milaku and Kunaraku clans'

The Numeral tagmeme has the same exponents as the Numeral tagmeme of the Kinship Noun Phrases, and the same expansion potential.

e.g. Kuri sutan 'the two Kuries'
Kuri two

Milaku sutan wen 'only two Milakues'
Milaku two only

The Demonstrative tagmeme is again expounded by the Demonstrative Pronouns (1.2.2.3.).

e.g. yalini sutan iday 'those two men'
he two those

Kobila i 'this Kobila'
Kobila this

Milaku inin binanwenbile iday 'those very many Milaku's themselves.'
Milaku themselves very many those

2.2.2. Complex Noun Phrases.

The reasons for analysing Noun Phrases into two categories were given under 2.2.1. The general structure of this category is:

Head plus Referent

2.2.2.1. Appositional Noun Phrase.

This sub-category has the following structure:

+ Head ± Specifier

The unacceptability of several modifiers in the one General Noun Phrase gives rise to the frequent occurrence of several shorter General Noun Phrases occurring in juxtaposition to form the Appositional Noun Phrase. The last syllable of each Simple Noun Phrase in apposition, with the exception of phrases that precede a Personal Name Noun Phrase whose exponent is the name of a person and also with the exception of a final phrase in apposition, is a ballistic syllable followed by voicelessness and is marked by a comma.

The Head tagmeme is expounded by Simple Noun Phrases juxtaposed in a series. Ordering within the series is done on semantic grounds beginning with the general definition and then proceeding to the specific. If the phrase refers to a person or persons, this ordering has the effect of placing the Personal Name Noun Phrase last in the series, as it is the most specific means of definition.

e.g.

G.N.P.		P.N.N.P.	
yal	dimanin	Kuri	
man	old	Kuri	'the old man Kuri'

G.N.P.		G.N.P.		K.N.P.		P.N.N.P.
yal	ta,	Keri yal	ta,	Sibilungwa	alenbi	Mugwale
man	one	Keri man	one	Sibilungwa's	brother	Mugwale

'Sibilungwa's brother, Mugwale, a Keri man'

G.N.P.	G.N.P.	G.N.P.
bolima ta,	bolima bilkau ta,	Omilinbaa bolima pege
pig one	pig big one	Omilinbaa pig white

'Omilinbaa's large white pig'

The exponents of the Specifier tagmeme are dependent on whether the Head tagmeme refers to a person or not. If it does refer to a person then the exponent of the Specifier tagmeme is a Personal Name Noun Phrase which has a pronoun filling its Head tagmeme.

e.g.

K.N.P.	P.N.N.P.	P.N.N.P.
na mina	Obaneku,	abalini inin
my my mother	Obaneku	she herself

'my mother Obaneku herself'

G.N.P.	K.N.P.	P.N.N.P.
gi taw,	Gali abilin kobe,	abalin kobi
girl some	Gali daughter pl	she pl

'some girls, Gali's daughters'

When the Head tagmeme does not refer to a person then the Specifier tagmeme has as its exponent a General Noun Phrase. The Head tagmeme of this General Noun Phrase has as its exponent the semantic nucleus of the phrases in juxtaposition. The only other tagmeme which this restricted type of General Noun Phrase takes is the Demonstrative.

e.g.

G.N.P.	G.N.P.	G.N.P.
ogu ta,	Basila yal ogu bere,	ogu iday
house one	Basila man house gabled	house that

'that Basila gable-roofed men's house'.

G.N.P.	G.N.P.	G.N.P.
awi sutan,	Yoba awi kama sui,	awi iday
dog two	Yoba dog black two	dog those

'those two black dogs of Yoba's'

2.2.2.2. Conjunctive Noun Phrase.

This sub-category has the following structure:

+ Head ± Summariser

The Head tagmeme has as its exponents Simple Noun Phrases which are joined by Co-ordinative Conjunctions (1.2.6.1.a). These co-ordinative conjunctions occur between each phrase and may optionally occur following the last phrase of the Head. It should be noted that the phrases conjoined are short, and often consist of only the Head tagmeme of the particular phrase. There are no restrictions as to which particular phrase type occurs with another or the order in which they occur. However, there is a semantic restriction placed on the items which may be conjoined, in that Animate Noun sub-categories may not be conjoined to the Inanimate Noun sub-categories.

e.g. G.N.P. G.N.P.

keba	ya	me	ya
sweet potato	and	taro	and

'sweet potato and taro'

G.N.P. G.N.P.

keba	binanbile	ide	te	dilolua	bil	ta	ide	te
sweet potato	many	and	hes	pumpkin	big	one	and	hes

'much sweet potato and a large pumpkin'

P.N.N.P. G.N.P.

Kuri	te	yalini	awi	sutan
Kuri	hes	his	dog	two

'Kuri and his two dogs'

P.N.N.P. K.N.P. K.N.P.

na	ya	ebinanbi	ya	Nauri	alenbi	Nebi	ya	te
I	and	my wife	and	Nauri's	brother	Nebi	and	hes

'my wife and I and Nauri's brother Nebi'

The Summariser tagmeme is expounded by General and Personal Name Noun Phrases which are of a restricted type i.e. they consist of either

Head plus Demonstrative or Head plus Numeral

e.g. G.N.P. G.N.P. G.N.P.

keba	ya	kabe	ya	komina	iru	taule
sweet potato	and	banana	and	food	thus	some

'sweet potato and bananas, only a little food'

P.N.N.P. P.N.N.P. P.N.N.P. P.N.N.P.

Kuri	te	Mosimina	te	Gali	ibal	kobe	iday
Kuri	hes	Mosimina	hes	Gali	people	pl	those

'Kuri, Mosimina, Gali, these people'

G.N.P. G.N.P. G.N.P.

kungu	kuba	ide	te	me	kon	ide	te	bo	kabe
green	vegetables	and	hes	taro	yam	and	hes	sugar cane	banana

G.N.P.

ide	te	komina	ta	ta	para
and	hes	food	one	one	all

'green vegetables and root vegetables and fruit, all kinds of food'

2.2.2.3. Accompaniment Noun Phrase.

This sub-category has the following structure:

± Head + Relator

If ellipsis of the Head tagmeme occurs then the context must clearly show the meaning of the exponent that is omitted.

e.g.

Kuri	omba	bole	para	obilge.
Kuri	went but	together	also	we two went

'Kuri went but I went with him'

The Head tagmeme may be expounded by any of the previous Simple and Complex Noun Phrase sub-categories.

e.g. K.N.P.

na	mina	ta	bole
my	my mother	one	together

'with one of my mothers'

A.N.P.

abal	su,	Boi	ebinbi	Baan,	Arin	bole
woman	two	Boi	his wife	Baan	Arin	together

'The two women, Boi's wife Baan and Arin, together'

C.N.P.

Kuri	te	Boi	te	Baan	bole
Kuri	hes	Boi	hes	Baan	together

'Kuri, Boi and Baan together'

P.N.N.P.

Kuri,	Boi,	Baan	bole
Kuri	Boi	Baan	together

'Kuri, Boi and Baan together'

The Relator tagmeme is expounded by the Axis Conjunctions (1.2.6.4.).

e.g. K.N.P.

na	mina	bole	para
my	my mother	together	also

'with my mother also'

A.N.P.

yal	ta,	sibilungwa	alenbi	Mugwale	bole	ereko
man	one	Sibilungwa	sibling of opposite sex	Mugwale	together	with

'together with Sibilungwa's brother Mugwale'

C.N.P.

Kuri	te	Boi	te	Baan	ereko
Kuri	hes	Boi	hes	Baan	with

'Kuri and Boi and Baan'

C.N.P.

Kuri	te	Boi,	Baan	para
Kuri	hes	Boi	Baan	also

'Kuri with Boi and Baan'

G.N.P.

bolima bil bole para
pig large together also

'The large pig also'

2.2.3. Locative Phrase.

Exponents of this category of Non-verb Phrase occur as constituents of the Locative tagmeme on the clause level. It has the following structure:

± Head ± Attributive ± Modifier 1 ± Modifier 2

This structure is not based so much on the particular exponent of each tagmeme but rather on the semantic function of each tagmeme. These semantic functions in order of the above formula are; place name, place type, position in relation to place and position in relation to speaker. Any tagmeme may occur alone and there is no restriction on the co-occurrence of tagmemes. The Head tagmeme has as its exponents Non-possessable Inanimate Nouns (1.2.1.6.).

e.g. Mui kuul ibe 'on Mui hill above the speaker'
Mui hill above speaker

Egile Daanibe pera ide 'there at the Egile Daanibe
Egile Daanibe horizontal there flat stretch'

The Attributive tagmeme has as its exponents, words, compound expressions and embedded clauses, all of which describe the type of location. The embedded clause is often followed by the words gul 'area' or ai 'place'.

e.g. daan ali ime 'on the steep below the speaker'
steep in below

maul ali 'in the hole'
hole in

Sigima dimin gul malge mine ibe 'on the top side of
Sigima bush area clearing top above Sigima, the bush place above speaker'

Sigima nil yaangwa mena buuna 'Away from the
Sigima water falling outside away from Sigima waterfall'

yal ta milungwa gul ide 'there where the man is'
man one being area there

Many of the constituents of this tagmeme may be intensified by the use of wen 'very'.

e.g. daan wen ime 'the very steep slope below speaker'
steep very below

yal ta milungwa gul wen 'at the very place where the man is'
man one being area very

The Modifier 1 tagmeme has as its exponents Locative words (1.2.3.) and compound expressions which describe the position in relation to the place.

e.g. Kwali kuul yene kol tayan ime 'At the bottom part
Kwali hill bottom section far below of the Kwali hill, far below speaker'

eri minin wen ali ibe 'in the topmost part of the
tree top very in above tree above the speaker'

Many of the constituents of this tagmeme may be intensified by the use of wen 'very'.

e.g. Omkolai malge mine wen ibe 'on the high side of the
Omkolai clearing top very above clearing at Omkolai above speaker'

The Modifier 2 tagmeme has as its exponents only three words ibe, ime and ide (1.2.3.) or compound expressions which include one of these words and which describe the position in relation to the speaker.

e.g. Kwali daan mine kol tayan ame 'at the top section
Kwali steep above section far below of the Kwali steep far below the speaker but nearest him'

eri minin wen ali ibe 'in the topmost part of the
tree top very in above tree above speaker'

gul mena binan ide 'there outside, alongside the
fence outside alongside there fence'

2.2.4. Temporal Phrases.

This category does not show the same degree of endocentricity as do the other Non-verb Phrases. Both syntactially and semantically this category has three sub-categories: that which indicates points of time, that which indicates periods of time and that which combines both point of time and period of time. It should be noted also that temporal phrases are dependent upon the tense and aspect of the verb which dominates them for a full statement of their contextual meaning.

2.2.4.1. Temporal Phrase - Point of Time.

This sub-category has the following structure:

+ (± Definite ± Indefinite) ± Demonstrative

The Definite tagmeme is expounded by the Definite Temporals (1.2.4.5.1.).

e.g. erima omale kaun 'yesterday/tomorrow round noon'
a day from today noon time

kemina gilaa 'to-night'
today night

The Indefinite tagmeme is expounded by the Indefinite temporals (1.2.4.5.2.), compound expressions which contain an Indefinite Temporal, embedded clauses, and embedded sentences. Where embedded clauses and sentences expound this tagmeme, then they are obligatorily

expanded by the determiner kaun 'time'.

e.g. goma 'before'

mane kwimile 'in the morning five days from now'
5 days from now morning

erima gilaa taanima 'early yesterday/tomorrow night'
a day night early
from today

are bol ongwa kaun 'at sunset'
sun ripen goes time

are yaa biingwa kaun 'late in the afternoon'
sun falling time

nala di pirebinga kaun 'when I thought that I would go'
I will go say thinking time

Expansion of this tagmeme may occur in the following ways; by the determiner kaun 'time', and by the intensifier wen 'really', 'right'.

e.g. omale kaun 'noon time'
noon time

gilaa wen 'when it's really night'
night really

kamin girungwa kaun wen 'right on dusk'
sky darkening time right

The Demonstrative tagmeme is expounded by the Demonstrative pronouns (1.2.2.3.), and by the locative ibe 'above the speaker'. This locative type demonstrative has only been noted to occur with phrases expressing the far past.

e.g. erima iday 'that yesterday/tomorrow'
a day from today that

gilaa iday 'that night'
night that

kamin kaya wen ibe 'a very long time ago'
sky already very above

malia milebinga kaun i 'this present time'
now we being time this

An account needs to be given of the assimilation by the language of the seven day week system and the corresponding names of the days. Although the names of days have been noted to occur as exponents of both Definite and Indefinite tagmemes, they occur most frequently as exponents of the Definite tagmeme.

When the days of a week are exponents of the Definite tagmeme they may occur alone i.e. they function as Definite Temporals (1.2.4.5.1.), or they may occur in apposition within the compound expression.

e.g. erima Mande omale kaun wen 'tomorrow, Monday, right at noon'
tomorrow Monday noon time very

satebil gilaa 'Sunday night'
Sunday night

When the days of the week occur as exponents of the Indefinite tagmeme they obligatorily take the determiner kaun 'time'.

e.g. Tune kaun 'on Tuesday'
Tuesday time

In a few examples noted the day names occur in apposition to the complete Temporal phrase.

e.g. kemina imore miliga kaun Satebil 'today, the time I rest, Sunday'
today nothing I being time Sunday

erima iday Ponde 'yesterday Thursday'
yesterday that Thursday

2.2.4.2. Temporal Phrase - Period of Time.

This sub-category has been analysed as two distinct types: the period type which is modified by Numerals and the periodic type

which is modified by the sequence kaun kaun 'each'.

2.2.4.2.1. The Period type has the following structure:

+ Head + Numeral

The Head tagmeme is expounded by the same exponents as the Indefinite tagmeme of the Point of Time sub-category. However, there are a number of semantic constraints which restrict the occurrence of these exponents and allow for the occurrence of such constituents as baan 'time'.

e.g. girungwa taangwa ta		'a day and night'
darkening lighting up one		
ba sutan		'two months'
moon two		
kaun tawle		'a short time'
time a little		
baan araway		'a long time'
time long		
bolima ogu sutakobe		'three pig festivals'
pig house three		(three years)

This tagmeme may be expanded by the use of the determiner kaun 'time' in the same manner as the Point of Time sub-category. If kaun 'time' fills the Head tagmeme it precludes its occurrence as an expansion.

e.g. nimin sungwa kaun ta	'a rainy season'
rain striking time one	
erin kaun ta	'a holiday time'
holiday time one	

The Numeral tagmeme is expounded by Numerals (1.2.4.4.) and by a few of the Adjectives which describe size and shape (1.2.4.1.) i.e. the exponents of the Modifier 3 tagmeme of the General Noun

Phrase.

e.g. me erin sutan 'two taro seasons' (two years)
taro stem two

baan tawliga 'short time'
time a little

baan araway 'a long time'
time long

This tagmeme may be expanded in the following ways:

(a) by the use of ginin 'times' preceding the numeral.

e.g. ba kaun ginin sutan 'for two months'
moon time times two

me erin ginin binanbile 'a large number of years'
taro stem times many

(b) by the use of the Indefinite numerals towle 'few' and muru 'all' following the Definite numerals.

e.g. ba ta muru 'a full month'
moon one all

sate sutan tawle 'only two weeks'
Saturday two few

(c) by the use of the intensifier wen 'very', 'really', 'exactly' following the Numeral.

e.g. ba ginin sutan wen 'exactly two months'
moon times two exactly

baan araway wen 'very long time'
time long very

Sate sutan tawle wen 'really only two weeks'
Saturday two few really

2.2.4.2.2. The Periodic type has the following structure:

+ Head + Frequency

The Head tagmeme has the same fillers as the Head tagmeme of the

Period type except that it is not expanded by the determiner kaun 'time'.

e.g. me erin kaun kaun 'each year'
taro stem time time

nimin sungwa kaun kaun 'each wet season'
rain striking time time

The Frequency tagmeme has as its only exponent the compound expression kaun kaun 'each'. This tagmeme may be expanded by the addition of certain of the Indefinite numerals.

e.g. bolima ogu kaun kaun muru 'every pig festival'
pig house time time all

Sate kaun kaun para muru 'every week'
Saturday time time whole all

nala di pirebinga kaun kaun 'each time I think I will go'
I will go say I thinking time time

2.2.4.3. Complex Temporal Phrases.

The previous sub-categories of Temporal Phrases occur in apposition to form the Complex Temporal Phrase. Apposition occurs both by juxtaposition and conjunction. The following patterns of juxtaposition have been noted.

(a) Temporal Phrase Period of Time - Period type + Temporal Phrase Period of Time - Periodic type.

e.g. ba sui muru sate kaun kaun
moon two all Saturday time time
'each Saturday for two full months'

me erin kaun sutakobe ba kaun kaun muru
taro stem time three moon time time all
'every month for three years'

(b) Temporal Phrase Period of Time - Period type + Temporal Phrase Point of Time.

When these phrases occur in apposition then the complete phrase refers to a point of time rather than a period of time. The constituents of Temporal Phrase Point of Time have as their nucleus Indefinite temporals which indicate past or future time.

e.g. ba anan kole muru goma 'five months ago'
moon my hand part all before

Sate ta eme 'a week later'
Saturday one later

The conjunction of Temporal phrases has only been noted to occur between two Period type phrases of the Temporal Phrase Period of Time. When the Head tagmeme of the second phrase has the same referrent as the first phrase, then ellipsis of the Head occurs in the second phrase.

e.g. ba sui muru te ta kole 'two and a half months'
moon two all and one part

me erin ta te ba sutan 'a year and two months'
taro stem one and moon two

2.2.5. Numeral Phrases.

The definite numerals form numeral phrases which are based on the numbers ta 'one' and sutan 'two' plus the use of the fingers and toes. The counting system to ten may also be accompanied by a system of equating by bending the fingers to the palm beginning with the little finger on one hand, thence proceeding along that hand until the closed hand represents five. The closed hand then begins by holding down the little finger of the other hand to the palm for

six and then proceeds along the fingers of that hand until both hands are closed and held together for ten. The numerals to four are:

ta / taran / taranta	'one'
su / sutan / sui	'two'
sutakobe / su ta i 2 1 pl 2 1 this	'three'
sui sui two two	'four'

There are two alternative systems from five to ten inclusive. One system uses the one-two basis solely and the other uses the one-two system plus the hands. When the one-two system is used, it is most often accompanied by the equating system.

The one-two system is as follows:

sui sui ta i two two one this	'five'
sui sui sui two two two	'six'
sui sui sui ta i two two two one this	'seven'
sui sui sui sui two two two two	'eight'
sui sui sui sui ta i two two two two one this	'nine'
sui sui sui sui sui two two two two two	'ten'

The one-two and hand system is as follows:

anan kole muru my hand part all	'five'
anan kole muru kole taran my hand part all part one	'six'

anan kole muru kole sutan 'seven'
my hand part all part two

anan kole muru kole sutakobe 'eight'
my hand part all part three

anan kole muru kole sui sui 'nine'
my hand part all part two two

anan kole kole muru 'ten'
my hand part part all

The numeral phrases which express the numerals eleven to twenty are based on the hands and feet of the speaker plus the one-two system. To cut down on redundancy the expression for 'ten' which precedes all these is left out.

e.g. .... kawnan milin taran 'eleven'
ten my foot seed one

.... kawnan milin sutan 'twelve'
my foot seed two

.... kawnan kole muru 'fifteen'
my foot part all

.... kawnan kole muru kole taran 'sixteen'
my foot part all part one

.... kawnan kole kole muru 'twenty'
my foot part part all

For numbers above twenty, the counting system proceeds in multiples of twenty with the numbers for 1-19 following the phrases.

e.g. yal ta an kawn muru 'twenty'
man one his hand foot all

yal sutan an kawn muru anan kole muru 'forty five'
man two his hands feet all my hand part all

It should be noted that when one gets into the relatively high figures above twenty, only round figures are referred to.

This basic system has influenced the assimilation of the Arabic numerals into the system in the following manner:

e.g. tuenti sutakobe 'sixty'
twenty three

tuenti sutan 'forty'
twenty two

Because of the loquacious manner the language uses in its counting system, the Arabic system is being adopted fairly rapidly.

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